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THE

GREAT CIVIL WAR

OF

CHARLES THE FIRST AND THE PARLIAMENT.

Charles Heath

CATTERMOLE'S

HISTORICAL ANNUAL.

The Great Civil War

OF CHARLES 1st AND HIS PARLIAMENT

BY THE REVd R. CATTERMOLE, B.D.

ILLUSTRATED BY GEORGE CATTERMOLE, ESQr

Vol. II.

BEING HEATH'S PICTURESQUE ANNUAL FOR 1841.

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THE

GREAT CIVIL WAR

OF

CHARLES I. AND THE PARLIAMENT.

BY THE

REV. RICHARD CATTERMOLE, B.D.

WITH

Thirteen highly-finished Engravings, from Drawings by

GEORGE CATTERMOLE, ESQ.

AND PORTRAITS OF

Charles I. and Oliver Cromwell, after Vandyke,

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF MR. CHARLES HEATH.

VOL. II.

BEING HEATH'S PICTURESQUE ANNUAL FOR 1845.

LONDON:

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LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS;

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PREFACE.

THE first volume of the HISTORICAL ANNUAL appeared in the spring of 1841, and was prefaced by the following advertisement:—

"This volume, the first of a proposed series on the same and like subjects, is the result of considerable reflection on the possible means of raising a very attractive class of publications into a higher field of literary design, without depriving them of those charms of novelty and grace which have so long secured to them the public favour.

"The author wishes to add, that though it did not come within his purpose to encumber his page with authorities, yet strict and conscientious historical accuracy was the first object at which he aimed. In endeavouring to set before the reader *History in action*—in avoiding, as much as

possible, all formal or dry detail, and giving prominence and amplitude only to those heroic deeds, those eloquent discussions, and those noble traits of personal character which distinguish all great events or eras in the world, he has sought to avoid those extreme differences of opinion, and partisan views, that have unhappily entered so largely into most works respecting the Great Civil War of the seventeenth century. For he cannot acknowledge indifference to any cause which has inspired high achievements among mankind. He looks upon the great drama of human events as, in all its provinces, the work of *One* who assigns no prominent part whatever to minds undeserving of earnest regard. Great qualities still find a sanctuary in the heart, even though the ends to which they were devoted may be disapproved by the principles and judgment; and history, in common with all true knowledge, promotes the noblest charities of our nature."

That the work has been so long suspended, is owing, not to a want of encouragement on the part of the public; since a degree of success, adequate to the expectations of its projectors, attended the publication of the volume which originally bore the above notice; but to circumstances of a private nature. To enter into detail

on this point would now be wholly useless and impertinent. Suffice it that the parties whom, primarily, it interests, have been enabled to resume their pleasant and (they trust) not unprofitable task, with every prospect of realising in future their promise of regularly continuing the series as an annual. Those readers who are acquainted—and who is not in some degree acquainted?—with the events of the Great Civil War, will not be surprised to find the present volume marked by a more rapid variety of incident and vicissitude than its predecessor. Should it fail to satisfy, in this respect, the most fastidious admirers of the stirring and eventful in story, the author is aware that the blame must attach exclusively to his want of power to do justice to his theme; he, at the same time, feels it due to himself to request the reader, who may discover any want of relative proportion between the earlier and later chapters, to impute it to the exigencies of his mode of publication, rather than to his own defective foresight and arrangement.

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THE

GREAT CIVIL WAR.

CHAPTER I.

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE WEST—1644.

It has already been told, that the king, finding himself freed, by the result of the action at Cropredy Bridge, on the 29th of June, from all likelihood of being further molested by Waller, directed his march westward in pursuit of the Earl of Essex. To this course he was determined by various considerations; but particularly by his anxiety for the queen, now, with the infant princess Henrietta, exposed to the annoyances of a siege in Exeter, and by the apparent strength of his cause in the western counties, not only in the amount of organised forces, but also in the general loyalty of the people. Essex's advance to Weymouth had already left Prince Maurice at liberty to unite the most considerable royalist force in the west with the main army under the king, by compelling that youthful and indiscreet commander to raise the siege of Lyme. The spirited resistance

made by the garrison and inhabitants of this little town, during the two months wasted in its blockade, was the subject of repeated votes of thanks in the parliament, and of lively interest in the capital; and is not unworthy of special mention, even at the distance of two centuries, in a narrative which professes to rest its peculiar claim to attention on an earnest sympathy with whatever, in this protracted and extraordinary struggle, is eminently calculated to engage the sympathy of Englishmen.

Charles had entered Gloucestershire, when the first true account reached him of the issue of the fatal battle of Marston Moor, of the retirement of the Marquess of Newcastle and his friends to the continent, and the dispersion of Rupert's fine army. This grievous news must have been felt the more poignantly, because it followed a succession of rumours which ascribed to the prince a brilliant victory; it nevertheless appears to have produced no other effect upon the spirits and designs of the king, than that of adding firmness and alacrity to his present purpose. It demonstrated, in fact, that the prosecution of the campaign in the west was the only important military undertaking now open to him. He hastened on to Bath; and, receiving some accession of strength in his passage through Somersetshire, reached Exeter on the 26th of July.

His royal consort, however, was no longer there. On the first rumour of Essex's approach, Henrietta, alarmed by the rancorous personal hostility with which the parliamentarians regarded her, had quitted the town, leaving behind her the royal infant, scarcely a

fortnight old; had withdrawn, under Prince Maurice's protection, into Cornwall, and embarked in a Dutch vessel of war for France, "not without some barbarous but vain interruption of the rebels." Hastily embracing the new pledge of an affection more faithful and devoted, in the opinion of some writers, than became a king, Charles reviewed the troops of his nephew assembled in the vicinity, and immediately resumed his march.

In the meantime the object of his pursuit was already far in advance. After lying for some days near the army of Prince Maurice, the lord general had driven from before Plymouth an insufficient force, left there by the prince under the command of Sir Richard Grenvil (brother of Sir Bevil Grenvil, who fell in the previous year at Lansdown fight), and had marched forward into Cornwall; a step forced upon him by his officers, contrary to his own better judgment. For the leaven of republicanism was already working in the councils of the main army of the parliament; though not to the same extent as in that under Manchester, in which the dark machinations and daring soldiership of Cromwell had by this time made him absolute. That movement, with its dishonourable consequences, is attributed chiefly to the counsel of Lord Roberts (a person of weight in the army by his intimate alliance with Vane and his party, as well as by his own activity and zeal), who possessed estates, and pretended to vast influence, in Cornwall.

The discontents which distracted the parliamentarians were more than equalled among the royalists. The liveliest jealousy prevailed between the king's council

and his military officers. Among the cavaliers, wit and conviviality could not fail to be popular: to the influence which Lord Wilmot, who was in command of the horse, had acquired by his excellence in these qualities, he added an ambitious temper and a strong disposition to overrate his own claims to distinction. Charles had other grounds also of dislike to Wilmot; for, though blinded to the fact in the case of his nephews by family affection, he could not be ignorant that by entrusting offices of the highest moment to men of reckless dispositions and irregular lives, he both discredited his cause and weakened his resources. He had consequently resolved to rid himself of his troublesome lieutenant-general of the cavalry. Of this design Wilmot had probably gained some intimation, which so exasperated his usual arrogance and indiscretion, that the king was provoked to carry his plan into effect in a rougher and more hasty manner than he at first intended. It was now the month of August. Essex, unable either to advance farther, or to retreat, had seized the little port of Fowey, to prevent his being blocked up by sea as well as by land, and fixed his head quarters at Lostwithiel, where they were overlooked by the king's at Boconnock.

Here Wilmot, while in the act of delivering one of his turbulent harangues, was arrested on a charge of high treason, dismounted at the head of his troops, and sent under guard to Exeter. The next morning Charles ordered the cavalry to be drawn out; and, visiting in person each division, acquainted them, that at the request of his nephew, Prince Rupert, and upon

his resignation, he appointed Colonel Goring their general, whom he had accordingly sent for to the army, and commanded them all to obey him. "With respect to Lord Wilmot," he continued, "I have for very good reasons put him under present restraint." The following day a petition was presented by the officers, requesting to be made acquainted with the particulars of the charge against their general. The request was granted. A copy was at the same time forwarded to Wilmot himself, who returned an answer sufficient to clear him in the opinion of his admirers; but on learning that his old enemy and superior officer Goring, was already in possession of the command, he obtained leave to retire into France. Wilmot's dismissal involved also that of Lord Percy, the partner of his irregularities, and now the partaker of his voluntary exile. To him succeeded the tried and gallant Lord Hopton. Another and a more important change, which was made about the same time, proved of more doubtful character and result. This was the substitution of Prince Rupert for the Earl of Brentford, as commander-in-chief. The earl was incompetent indeed from age and infirmity, but so was his highness from passion, impetuosity, and high-born insolence. Rupert was brave—the bravest of the brave; but little can be hoped from an army in which the hot courage of a life-guardsman, with the abused privileges of birth, forms the general's only qualification for command.

Always the foremost of the great contending parties to desire peace, twice within the last two months had the king attempted to open negociations for obtaining

it. His first message was addressed to Waller, after the fight at Cropredy; whose answer ran, that "he had no power to receive any proposal on that subject, without the consent of the two houses of parliament at Westminster, to whom he accordingly referred his majesty." Presently afterwards Charles renewed the attempt, in a letter to the parliament, which was delivered by Sabran the diplomatic agent of France; no notice, however, was taken of it. He now addressed himself to Essex, in a letter written with his own hand, and in terms of much frankness and esteem. But, though delivered by the earl's nephew, Lord Beauchamp, then on his way through the enemy's quarters to France, and containing warm appeals to Essex's honour and patriotism, with earnest assurances that by engaging in "that blessed work," the restoration of peace to the distracted and bleeding country, he would secure for himself and his army the highest marks of the writer's personal regard, the royal autograph failed of its object. The general bluntly reminded his nephew that he was employed by the parliament to fight, not to treat; declared that he would enter into no negotiations without their consent; and immediately dispatched the king's letter to Westminster, enclosed in one from himself, representing the extremity to which he was reduced, and urgently entreating succour.

A part of the duty undertaken, and punctually discharged by Lord Beauchamp, was to acquaint Essex with the unanimous concurrence of the officers, and the army in general, in the wish expressed by the king. But as no answer was returned to the royal message, a

resolution was adopted by the majority of the officers to second it by one in their own names. To this step, though indicating a want of respect for the sovereign, while his own letter remained still unnoticed, Charles nevertheless gave his consent. The manifesto received from Essex what Clarendon calls a "surly answer; which," continues the historian, "produced the effect the king wished and expected: they who had been most active in preparing the address, were now the most ashamed of their folly; and the whole army seemed well composed to obtain that by their swords, which they could not by their pen." That Charles should have employed, or concurred in these repeated urgent appeals to the patriotism and humanity of his enemies, at a moment when he already had their main army at such manifest disadvantage,—when he was daily expecting a large reinforcement, and had no reason to apprehend the probability of relief arriving in the enemy's quarters—seems to denote a sincere anxiety on his part to put a stop to the public calamities.

By the arrival of the expected reinforcement, consisting of about 2000 horse and foot commanded by Grenvil, the king was enabled more effectually to distress the parliamentarians. One after another their posts were occupied by his troops. At length Beacon Hill, a rising ground adjoining the town on the land-side, and Pernon Castle, a fort at the harbour's mouth, which commanded the sea and the line of coast, were seized by his advanced parties. The game was manifestly now in the king's hands; and so cool a tactician was not likely at the critical moment to dismiss that

patient wisdom, which, in all that depended immediately on himself, marked the conduct of the campaign.

For more than a week both armies remained in a state of inactivity, each in expectation of the other's movements. "All the action, or rather recreation we had," writes Sir Edward Walker, the king's historiographer, "being every day to see ours and their parties relieve their advanced guards; and sometimes a man or horse was slain." Intelligence at length reaching the king, that Middleton, whom Waller had left in command of his shattered army, was marching into the west, at the head of a force which the small parties of royalists left in his rear were unable to check; he resolved without farther loss of time to resume active operations. Orders had already been issued for a general attack, when the king directed its suspension, while Goring, with the greater part of the cavalry and a body of fifteen hundred foot, making a circuit to the west, occupied St. Blase, a little town at the head of the nearest creek in that direction; a movement which cut Essex off from the only remaining point of coast, on which supplies for his army could be landed. The space where he was now confined measuring only about three miles by two, and all prospect of relief from Middleton being precluded by the advance of a royalist corps against him, from the north of Devon, the earl became painfully sensible of the hopelessness of farther maintaining himself in his position.

A council of war, assembled in this emergency, re-

solved that the cavalry should endeavour to save themselves by cutting their way through the quarters of the royalists; and that the general himself should at the same time escape with the infantry on board such vessels of war as were then lying in Fowey harbour. Information of this design was immediately brought to the king, who sent orders to Goring to move in the direction of the intended flight by land, and kept his whole remaining forces under arms all night to prevent it. From these precautions, however, nothing followed. The night proved hazy and dark: an hour before dawn the entire body of Essex's horse, led by Sir William Balfour, stealthily marched out; passed between the king's and Prince Maurice's quarters; and were permitted to gain the open country, without any further annoyance than a few straggling shots which did no execution. When day broke, and distinctly showed the fugitives, a party of royalist horse mustered in pursuit; but as the retreating squadrons amounted to four times the number of their pursuers, they were able to repulse every assault by turning upon them in overwhelming force. In the end, only a score or two of wounded remained with the king's troops, who, on their part, lost several men, and some standards.

This disgraceful failure was chiefly owing to the misconduct of Goring. That jovial and reckless officer being engaged in a drinking-party when he received the announcement of Balfour's design, with the king's order to intercept him, treated the whole matter as a groundless alarm, and prolonged the festivities

of the night till the fugitives had fairly got beyond the reach of effectual pursuit.

A different fate awaited the foot. In the morning Essex quitted his position at Lostwithiel, and drew all his remaining forces into Fowey. Lostwithiel was immediately occupied by the royalists: all this day (August 31st) partial skirmishes took place. The next morning an officer came from the earl and demanded a parley; but before he could carry back the king's answer, Essex, with Lord Roberts, Sir John Merrick, and other officers, was on his way to Plymouth by sea, leaving the veteran Skippon, to procure such terms as he could. The king, as usual, manifested the clemency of his disposition, and his regard for the lives of his people, by granting conditions which even the writers on the side of the parliament, acknowledge to have been "very honourable" to their side. All their artillery and ammunition, consisting of forty pieces of ordnance, about one thousand stand of arms, and two hundred barrels of gunpowder, were delivered up; but the men were allowed to march out with their colours, the officers to wear their swords and to be accompanied by their servants, horses, and baggage. A guard was likewise granted to protect the disarmed soldiers on their way towards Southampton; it proved, however, either insufficient for that duty, or unwilling to discharge it. At Lostwithiel, and other towns, where the unfortunate men had shortly before committed various acts of oppression and rapine, a severe retaliation was now practised. The inhabitants, pretending to discover their own apparel and other

property upon their persons, stripped and otherwise ill-treated many of them. In these barbarities the royalist troops also took part. A contemporary writer has preserved a remarkable anecdote relating to this subject, which he says he had often heard. He asserts, "that Skippon being despoiled of his scarlet coat, his case of pistols, and rapier, did ride up unto the king, and very roundly told him of the violation of the articles by his soldiers. The king, not well remembering him, did ask him who he was; he replied, that his name was Skippon. The king demanded, who were those soldiers who had thus injured him? He showed them to his majesty, for as yet they continued within the reach of his eye; they were about nine in number. Immediately the marshal was called, and these soldiers were apprehended; seven of the nine were condemned to the tree, and suffered according to their sentence." This story, though deriving some apparent probability from Charles's well-known compassion and sense of justice, is inconsistent with other and more authentic statements. Sir Henry Slingsby, a competent authority, tells us, that he "never observed any great severity in the king, used either towards the enemy when he had him in his power, or to the soldiers in his own army, except only at Wing, a house of my Lord Caernarvon's" (near Uppingham), "where he commanded a soldier to be hanged upon a sign-post for stealing a chalice out of the church." The true relation is, most likely, that given by Sir Edward Walker, who simply records that, "after the soldiers of Essex's army had passed by the place where

his majesty stood, some of the king's soldiers rudely fell on and stripped many of them; which his majesty hearing, he sent presently his own guards and chief officers to prevent it. And when," continues Sir Edward, "in my manuscript I used this light phrase, 'our soldiers freed them from the burden of their clothes,' on reading it to his majesty, he suddenly interrupted me, saying, 'Fie, that is ill said, and it was worse done,' and gave me order to alter that expression."

In truth, the king's compassion blinded his judgment, in this instance, to the evil of too much consideration for his rebellious subjects. He by no means reaped those advantages which he had a right to reap, from so signal a discomfiture of the enemy—"a great and glorious victory, gotten without blood." He obtained indeed a useful supply of military stores, but few men; not above a hundred of the disbanded soldiers offering themselves for the royal service; while his antagonists at Westminster lost only, of both, what they had so little difficulty in supplying, that six weeks had not elapsed before they were again in a condition to give battle to their sovereign, with a force superior to his own.

So contemptible a close to the military career of Essex (for he scarcely appeared in the field any more), though the subject of popular censure and complaint, does not seem to have sunk him much below his previous level in the opinion of his employers. At all events, in dealing with one of the few men of high rank who actively promoted the rebellion, the parliament felt it the best policy to conceal their dis-

pleasure; and the fugitive general was, to all appearance, as well received at Westminster as if he had entered the city covered with laurels. The commons assured him that their opinion of his fidelity remained unshaken, and immediately took measures for repairing his losses. But at the same time they sent orders to both Manchester and Waller to join him as soon as the army should be reconstructed; and, according to their wont, "appointed a day of public humiliation."

Charles, in the meantime, yielding to his usual sanguine temper, greatly overrated the effect of Essex's surrender. Expecting that event to produce consternation in the metropolis, he renewed, in more confident language, his message to the parliament for peace. He flattered himself that the people, no longer beguiled by the *prestige* of success on the side of his enemies, would flock to the royal standard in its progress to London, whither, as he informed the houses, it was now his intention to proceed. No farther indication appeared, however, of the fulfilment of these expectations, than a petition from the inhabitants of Somersetshire, echoing his own desire for peace, and promising, if it should be refused by the parliament, "to spend their lives and fortunes in assisting him to compass by the sword what by fair means could not be effected." But this prospective assurance was accompanied neither by reinforcements of men, nor by supplies of necessaries for the army, whose wants were by this time grown urgent. The infantry were "naked and unshod;" the cavalry murmuring both at the dismissal of their late commander, and at their long arrears of

pay; the whole army, now for many months on constant duty, was worn by fatigue and reduced in numbers. Charles's march towards London was made tedious and irksome by these hindrances. He recovered indeed most of the towns which Essex had taken, except Plymouth, where the earl, landing on his way to Southampton, had placed Lord Roberts in command. The king drew up before the walls, and summoned the garrison to surrender; but, on receiving a determined refusal, withdrew, leaving Grenvil with some troops to invest the place. Goring, who, when too late, had pursued the cavalry of Essex as far as Tiverton, afterwards, in some degree to compensate his negligence, dashed on northward and made himself master of the rebel town of Barnstaple. Blandford likewise was captured, with the expulsion of Waller, again at this time in arms at the head of a considerable force, which hovered about the king, rather to observe than to interrupt his movements, and constantly dislodging at the approach of such parties as were sent against them. The relief of the brave garrisons at Donnington, Banbury, and Basing, which now anxiously engaged the king's thoughts, was an object of greater importance.

The first of these places obtains frequent mention in the records of the present campaign. Though known by the name of Donnington "Castle," it was in fact one of those numerous private residences,which in the course of the civil wars were fortified, and became the scenes of deeds of bravery and devotedness, worthy of a larger sphere and more extensive celebrity. Waller's

orders to Middleton were, to watch the king's movements; but first to take Donnington, then occupied by Sir John Boys, with only a company or two of foot; a design which, it was supposed, would not detain him long. The event, however, proved otherwise. Boys, a brave and determined loyalist, was so well supported by his little band, that Middleton, after losing three hundred officers and men, devolved the enterprise on Colonel Horton, who commanded at Abingdon, and marched forward to the support of Essex. Towards the end of September, Horton advanced with a large force. No notice being taken of his summons he raised batteries, and opened a fire, which, at the end of twelve days, had levelled a great part of the structure with the ground. He was now joined by a part of Manchester's troops, and immediately sent a second and more peremptory message. To show the temper of the war; the insolence displayed on the one side, and the firmness on the other; this document is here inserted, with the governor's answer:—

"Sir,

"We have formerly testified our clemency in tendering you quarter, upon your surrender of the castle for the service of the king (!) and parliament; and now again we being desirous (notwithstanding our increase of powers) to manifest our mercy, do hereby once for all freely offer yourself and men fair quarter, in case you yield the castle for the use above-said, before Wednesday next at ten o'clock in the forenoon: and farther, we here testify, in the presence of God,

that if this our favour be not accepted, and the castle surrendered, there shall no active man among you have his life, if God shall ever please to yield them to our mercy.

"Yours,

"JEREMY HORTON."

"SIR,

"Neither your new addition of forces, nor your high threatening language shall deter me, nor the rest of these honest men with me, from our loyalty to our sovereign; but we do resolve to maintain this place to the uttermost of our powers; and for the matter of quarter, yours may expect the like on Wednesday, or sooner if you please. This is the answer of,

"Sir, your servant,

"JO. BOYS."

Manchester himself soon after appeared before Donnington, and meeting with a smilar reception, fixed the following day for storming the castle. His troops, aware of the spirit which animated the garrison, shrank from the dangerous service. A fresh battery was then constructed, the cannonade recommenced with great vigour, and an attempt was made to approach the walls by mining. The besiegers, however, were presently driven from their works, with the loss of many of their number, including the officer in command of the battery, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition. On the king's approach, the earl drew off his baffled forces. During the last nineteen days of the

siege, one thousand great shots were expended upon the walls of Donnington.

The history of Basing House is not less remarkable. In the family of the loyal and gallant Marquess of Winchester, who defended it for the king, was found a traitor—that nobleman's brother, Lord Edward Paulet. With him Grenvil entered into a correspondence, the object of which was to deliver up Basing to Waller. Thither Grenvil, then in the service of the parliament, was to proceed with a troop of horse, in advance of Waller, in order to make every thing ready for the enterprise. On the day appointed Grenvil left London, joined his troop at Bagshot, and, conducting them to Oxford, acquainted his majesty with the plot. Charles instantly despatched an express to the marquess. Paulet and his confederates being seized, confessed every thing; while Grenvil, though not immediately entrusted with a command by the royalists, joined Lord Digby in the west, and was afterwards employed in the blockade of Plymouth.

In the mean time a strong parliamentarian force appeared before Basing House, and commenced operations, early in May. The siege was sustained with much gallantry and the endurance of many hardships, by the marquess and his followers, till September; on the 11th of which month the assailants were repulsed, and the garrison relieved, by Colonel Gage and a party of royalists from Oxford.

At Banbury Castle, the commander on the parliament's side was Colonel John Fiennes, son of Lord Say: it was defended by Sir William Compton, brother to the loyal Earl of Northampton. The siege, which

began in August, is memorable for numerous fierce assaults gallantly repelled by the garrison, and for many vigorous sallies resolutely sustained by the besiegers. During the latter part of it, Cromwell was present. The king, affected by the accounts successively brought him, of the extremity to which Compton and his brave associates were reduced, and, at the same time, not sufficiently considering all the difficulties of his own position, in the midst of hostile armies, readily agreed to the proposal of Northampton, to proceed, with some regiments of horse, to his brother's aid. The expedition proved completely successful, the besiegers being routed and dispersed with great loss; but in the mean time events occurred which occasioned the earl's absence, with his numerous followers, to be felt as a serious detriment to the king's affairs.

Had Charles still retained his purpose of marching upon the metropolis, it would have been the height of imprudence to waste time and strength in enterprises of such trivial moment, however interesting to his feelings, as the recovery or relief of a few inconsiderable fortresses. But, in fact, this design, at no time entertained on sufficient grounds, he had found it necessary to abandon. For the space of six weeks after Skippon's surrender, Charles was detained by the necessities and discontents of his army in the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Wilts. The middle of October found him advanced no farther than Salisbury. There he learned from Rupert, to whom he had sent orders to join Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Colonel Gerrard

with the forces out of Wales, and hasten to his support, that they would not at present be in a condition to move forward. He therefore determined to close the campaign, and return without delay to winter quarters at Oxford. Even this, however, the enemy purposed not to let him effect without interruption. Essex's army had by this time been reorganized, and reinforced by the addition of the city regiments, five thousand strong, besides numerous recruits. Waller continued to attend the motions of the royal army, while the victorious forces of Manchester and Cromwell, no longer needed in the north, where York had surrendered to the parliament, and the Scots remained in force sufficient to keep down the royalists, were at hand, ready to form a junction. Such, in effect, were the orders of the parliament to the commanders of the three armies; and then to bring the king to an engagement. The united forces of the parliamentarians mustered near Basingstoke, amounting to eight thousand infantry, and nearly an equal number of horse: the king's were much less numerous, even before the Earl of Northampton had been detached to the relief of Banbury Castle. With this circumstance the enemy was made acquainted by Hurry, the Scot, formerly mentioned as a renegade from the republican party, at Chalgrave Field. This man seized the present moment to consummate a double treason; under pretence of retiring to the continent, he obtained leave to withdraw from the royal army, in which it is probable he considered his services not sufficiently valued; availed himself of his pass to hasten to London; and there sought to make his peace

by betraying the unprovided condition and diminished numbers of the king. The immediate consequence was the battle of Newbury.

Charles had posted his army advantageously, near that town, his skill in the disposition of troops being seconded, in this instance, by his intimate knowledge of the ground; on which, a year before, he had met his foes in a sanguinary conflict. Through the town of Newbury, in an eastern direction, runs the river Kennet, and is joined just below it by another stream (the Lambourne), which, in its course from the north-west, washes, at half a mile's distance, the walls of Donnington Castle. A little farther west than Donnington, lies the village of Speen; it was occupied by the army of Prince Maurice, and was protected by the guns of the castle, and by works at the entrance of a heath lying still farther to the west. The chief strength of the royal forces was disposed in the opposite direction, north and north-east of the town, fronting the London road; on which, at the distance of a mile or two, the enemy made their appearance, about noon on the 25th, and immediately attempted to get possession of an advantageous post on an adjacent hill. In this attempt, though repulsed in the first instance, they on the following morning succeeded. The king's front was strengthened by a breast-work, and by occupying with musketeers several detached country-houses, in and near the village of Shaw. One dwelling in particular, "a strong stone house," obtained celebrity as the scene of the deadliest struggle in the ensuing fight; it was filled by a determined party of

riflemen, while others were distributed in considerable force among the surrounding gardens.

The engagement began on the 26th with a smart exchange of shot between the artillery of the town, and a party of the enemy; who were now in possession of the hill before-mentioned, on which they had planted a battery. It was not, however, till the afternoon of that day, that any serious effort was made on either side; then the royalists, having brought two of their guns round to the south of the river, opposite the hill, the slopes of which were at that time covered by the regiment of Ludlow, the republican memorialist, swept the eminence with fatal effect. Ludlow has described, among his losses on this occasion, the affecting death of a young officer of the regiment, his cousin.

The plan of the parliamentarians was, at once to attempt both of the principal royalist positions, and thereby nearly to surround the king. It was late in the afternoon ere any movement indicated their purpose. Suddenly, under cover of an active cannonade along their whole line, the army was seen emerging, in two columns, from behind the protecting eminence. The right column, consisting of the forces under Essex and Waller, (the former crying out, that the time was now come "to revenge the business of Cornwall") with a large body of horse commanded by Cromwell, passed along the king's left, crossed the stream near Donnington Castle, got possession of a wood at the head of the heath, instantly drove in and dispersed the force of Prince Maurice, and made themselves masters of the artillery and village. Of the defeated royalists,

part took refuge within the works at Donnington; others fled in confusion towards the town, followed down the hill, at Speen, by Cromwell's victorious horse. In the open space, which intervened between Speen and Newbury (now, and perhaps then, known as Speenhamland), stood the king, with the young Prince Charles, surrounded by the royal guards. Here the tide of republican victory was checked. Charles, by the interposition of his personal authority, arrested the precipitate flight of the soldiers. At the same moment the two regiments of the king's and queen's guards gallantly charging the pursuers, the latter fell back to the hill at Speen, the possession of which they quietly retained.

Meantime the second column, which comprised Manchester's battalions, after pausing on the slope of the eminence to observe the effect of the movement on Speen, animated by the proofs of its successful result, descended to the more difficult work of forcing the strong position at the villa, already described, called Doleman's house. The music of the republican warriors as they marched down the hill, was a solemn psalm, resounding along the steady lines. At the first they were met by prince Charles's regiment of horse, who, having received and returned the fire of the advancing column, withdrew to the entrenchments in the neighbouring gardens. It was among these pleasant retreats of the modest luxury of a country town in the 17th century, that the severest conflict and most terrible slaughter took place. File after file of the republicans strove to force their way

into this suburban fortress; but instantly fell, leaving the lawns and hedge rows covered with dead and wounded. Three hours had elapsed while the infantry of the parliament were thus engaged, the cavalry standing all the time drawn up for their support, exposed to a galling fire, from which Ludlow's regiment again suffered most severely. At length a reserve of the enemy coming up, they retreated towards the hill; to the top of which the royalists pursued them with great execution, and bringing off two pieces of ordnance, retired with them to their entrenchments. One more attempt was made, by an overwhelming mass of cavalry, to force the position: it failed; and the silence and solemnity of an autumnal moonlight reigned over the second field of Newbury.

The king had been a personal witness to that part of the conflict from which his army had suffered most. He resolved not to expose it to a second encounter with a force so superior, till he had reinforced his ranks. An hour, therefore, before midnight, the artillery and military stores were, by his order, secured beneath the walls of Donnington Castle; the several divisions at the same time quitted their ground, and mustered in silence on the heath. These movements did not pass unobserved by the enemy; who, however, offered no interruption. Dawn discovered the main force of the royalists far advanced on their march to Oxford. Charles himself, with his immediate attendants, and a squadron of lifeguards, had taken the western road, with a design to hasten the Welsh and northern reinforcements, whose expected junction under Rupert

had so long detained the prince in the west. The uncle and nephew met at Bath.

In the meantime the parliament's forces entered Newbury. They summoned Donnington Castle to surrender, threatening Colonel Boys that if he did not instantly comply, they would not leave one stone upon another. "If so, I am not bound to repair it," was the governor's scornful reply. Being urged, a second and a third time, with the offer that he should be permitted to march out with all the arms, ammunition, and stores deposited in the castle—"Carry away," he said, "the castle walls themselves, if you can; but, with God's help, I am resolved to defend the ground they stand on, till I have orders from the king, my master, to quit it, or will die upon the spot." An assault was consequently determined, but the officer who led the storming party having fallen at their head, and great differences prevailing among the generals, nothing farther was done.

From Bath the king returned without delay to Oxford, attended by Rupert, and his reinforcements. On the 6th of November, the whole army mustered near that city, and on the 8th Charles surprised his enemies by appearing once more in sight of Newbury, at the head of full six thousand foot and five thousand horse. The day following he took possession of the heath behind Donnington Castle; and, resuming his former position between Speen and Newbury, offered the enemy battle. A sufficient space of time was allowed them to quit the town, without any indication appearing that the challenge was accepted. A herald

was then sent forward to announce, that the king's design was now to retire. Another pause ensued, when the army, with drums beating, and trumpets sounding, repassed the river unmolested, and took up their quarters for the night under Donnington Castle: the king slept within the fortress. The next morning he marched out, followed by the train of artillery and equipages, which he had deposited there at the close of the battle of Newbury; proceeded leisurely towards Oxford; and on the 23rd, reached once more the deanery at Christ Church, then the only palace of the sovereign of three kingdoms.

CHAPTER II.

TREATY OF UXBRIDGE.

THREE several times, during the western campaign of 1644, we have seen the king offering to open negociations for a peace. That he was now sincerely desirous of peace, if that "blessing," as he emphatically termed it, could have been obtained on terms compatible with his conscientious views of duty and honour, no unprejudiced reader of the history of the time can doubt; that he continued to press the subject upon the attention of the parliament from any serious expectation of being able, by such means, to put a close to the devastating contest, is a point more questionable. The parliament had gone too far to be safe, as individuals, from the vengeance of the violated laws, unless they could find means to restrain the sovereign executive within limits, to which neither the king's conscience nor his just pride would allow him to submit. Nevertheless, though he had little reason to hope for any good from a negociation, it became not the father of his people to turn a deaf ear to the cry which now rose on all sides—from hut and castle, from the lord and the peasant alike—for a termination to be put to the useless calamities of that protracted, bloody, and unnatural war.

Vandyke. F. Holl.

Sensible of the same pressure from public feeling, the weight of which, on this point, now began to lie chiefly upon their side; hoping, moreover, to be able more readily afterwards to throw the blame upon the king, in the estimation of the multitude, who were less capable of judging what either party might or might not concede, than of their apparent willingness to enter on a treaty—the parliament also at length yielded. From time to time, ever since the transmission of the king's message after the discomfiture of Essex, we meet, in the records of their proceedings, with motions made and votes passed to consider of propositions for a treaty. Propositions on their part were at length framed, and commissioners (two from the Lords, four from the Commons, and three for Scotland), were named to carry them to the King. They left London on the 20th of November. Whitelocke, who was one of them, has left an amusing account of their journey. At Wallingford, where they at first expected to find the king, they apprehended some risk from the rude loyalty of the governor, with whom they dined; again, on their arrival at Oxford, the insolence of some of Charles's officers moved the commissioners' indignation. By the populace they seem to have been regarded with as little favour: "As we passed along the streets," says the memorialist, "the rude multitude, the people—part of that people of England for whom we underwent so many hazards of our lives, and fortunes, to preserve them in their rights and liberties, and from slavery and popery,—reviled us with the names of traitors, rogues, and rebels, and the like, and threw stones and dirt into

our coaches: a great encouragement and reward for our service for them!"

The reception of the commissioners by the king himself seems to have been tolerably satisfactory, except to the three who appeared for Scotland. That to them he "was less civil than to their brethren," cannot excite surprise; for not only had the rebellion, which now wasted the realm, first broken out among the Scots, but that people had, likewise, by means of the covenant, and the intrigues of their commissioners in London, gained a degree of influence which they unrelentingly employed for his destruction. The very propositions now submitted to him, had derived no small part of their harshness from suggestions made north of the Tweed, to which the authorities at Westminster yielded a slavish consent.

It was Sunday, when the commissioners were admitted to the royal presence, and presented the propositions. They were read by the Earl of Denbigh. At the reading of the names of those persons whom the parliament proposed to be excepted from pardon—which the earl pronounced "with great courage and temper,"—the Princes Rupert and Maurice, hearing their names among the number, "fell into a laughter;" at which the king seemed displeased, and desired them to be quiet. "Have you power," said he, addressing the commissioners, "to treat?" "No," they replied; "our commission is merely to receive your majesty's answer in writing." "Then," rejoined the king, "a letter-carrier would have done as well." "I suppose your majesty," retorted Lord Denbigh, "looks upon us as persons of

another condition than letter-carriers?" "I know your condition," was the reply; "but I mean, that your commission gives you power to do no more than a letter-carrier might have done." This hasty remark appears afterwards to have been regretted on all sides.

While the commissioners were waiting in the town for the royal answer, Lord Lindsey, who was confined by his wounds, invited Whitelocke, and Hollis, two of their number, to visit him. Presently after their arrival, the King, Prince Rupert, and several other persons of high rank entered; when his majesty began an earnest conversation with Whitelocke and Hollis, on the business of their mission. In reply to his repeated request, that they would advise him what answer it were best to return to the parliament's message, they expressed their conviction that his appearance in person at Westminster, would, more than anything else, promote the attainment of peace. By Charles's desire they then withdrew into a private room, where Whitelocke wrote down what both agreed to recommend to the king as the substance of his answer. The paper, written in a disguised hand, and without a signature, was left on the table; "and the king went in, and took it, and then with much favour and civility bid us farewell." This singular transaction was kept secret by the two commissioners, from their colleagues, and can only be excused as springing from an earnest desire for the success of their negotiation. A charge of *high treason*, founded upon it, was some months afterwards brought against them in the parliament by Lord Savile, one of

the lords then at Oxford with the king, who, on the failure of the treaty, went over to the rebels.

The king's letter by the commissioners contained merely a request, that a safe conduct might be forwarded for the Duke of Lenox and the Earl of Southampton, by whom he would send his reply; and it bore no superscription. The safe conduct was refused, until it should be formally applied for to "the parliament of England and Scotland assembled at Westminster." This demand the king conceded, though with reluctance; and the result of the visit of those noblemen to London was an agreement to appoint commissioners on both sides for a treaty, to be held at Uxbridge, the place selected by the parliament.

The commissioners nominated by the parliament consisted of four for the Lords, viz. the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Denbigh; eight for the Commons, viz. Pierrepoint, Hollis, Lord Wenman, Sir Harry Vane, St. John, Whitelocke, Crew, Prideaux; four Scotch lords, and three divines, Marshall, Vines, Cheynell, and the famous Alexander Henderson; with eighty attendants. The king's commissioners, at the head of whom were the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Hertford, amounted, with their retinue, to one hundred and eight persons. In this number were included, with a view to the affairs of the church, Drs. Stewart, Sheldon, Ferne, Hammond, Potter, Lany, and other learned divines. Such of the royal commissioners as had received any honours from the king, "since the great seal was carried away from the parliament," the Commons refused to acknowledge

by their new titles. This they did, not so much from personal dislike to the individuals, as in defence of one of their own most remarkable acts. When, by the persuasion of Hyde, Lord Keeper Littleton had forwarded the great seal to his master at York, the houses passed a declaration, that "whatever should, from that time, pass under the great seal, should be null and void;" and shortly afterwards ordered a copy of it to be made, which they applied, in such matters transacted on their sole authority as by law required the attestation of the great seal. To this impediment, however, Charles quickly put an end by declaring, that "he waved the matter of honour, and was content that his commissioners should treat under those titles that were admitted by the parliament." The king's commissioners were, probably without exception, most anxious for the success of the treaty. Such unanimity the opposite party were far from entertaining. A small number, principally Hollis and Whitelocke, sincerely wished for an accommodation; the majority, however, neither sought nor desired the establishment of peace; while some, in particular Vane, St. John, and Prideaux, were there expressly to prevent it, and to act as spies upon the conduct of those who might be willing to obtain it at the cost of the slightest secession from the unreasonable demands of the parliament.

We adopt, in regard to the further preparatory steps, Whitelocke's lively narrative, as the account of an eye-witness. "January 29th," writes the memorialist, "the commissioners for the treaty on both parts met at Uxbridge, and had their several quarters; those for the

parliament and all their retinue on the north side of the town, and those for the king on the south side: the best inn of the one side was the rendezvous of the parliament's commissioners, and the best inn of the other side of the street was for the king's commissioners.

"The evening that we came to town several visits passed between particular commissioners of either party, who had long discourses together to the furtherance of the business of the treaty.

"The place being within the parliament's quarters, they appointed Sir John Bennet's house, at the farther end of the town, to be fitted for the place of meeting for the treaty. The foreway into the house was appointed for the king's commissioners to come in at, and the back way for the parliament's commissioners; in the middle of the house was a fair great chamber, where they (the parliament's commissioners) caused a large table to be made, like that heretofore in the Star-chamber, almost square. The king's commissioners had one end and one side of the table for them; the other end and side were for the parliament's commissioners, and for the Scot's commissioners, to sit by themselves. Behind the chairs of the commissioners, on both sides, sat the divines and secretaries. At each end of the great chamber was a fair withdrawing room, and inner chamber; one for the king's, the other for the parliament's commissioners, to retire to and consult when they pleased."

After the settlement of some disputes about precedence, raised by the Scottish commissioners, (whom

the parliament had by this time discovered to be very arrogant and troublesome coadjutors), the powers and instructions to negotiate were, on each side, delivered up to the opposite party; and on the 1st of February the business of the treaty began by the negotiators for the parliament producing the propositions with which they were entrusted. Up to this point affairs had been conducted with something like a mutual acknowledgment of equality; as soon however as essentials, not forms, came to be mooted, it was found that the parliament, "though they had not yet conquered, were determined to treat only as conquerors." The momentous subjects to be settled were all ranged under three striking and popular heads—Religion, the command of the military, the truce in Ireland. Referrible to each of these were several propositions, amounting together to twenty-eight; neither from the substance nor the form of which, as already fixed by the votes of the houses, were their agents permitted in any degree to deviate. Thus all discussion of the reasonableness of the parliament's demands was precluded; nothing farther being yielded in this respect than an intimation from the commissioners, that they were ready to explain, in private, the grounds on which they held them to be reasonable and just. To crown the absurdity, they were commanded to insist that each of the three great questions was to occupy successively the term of three days, and again in rotation to be resumed, till the twenty days, already fixed for the continuance of the treaty, had

expired; when, unless all the propositions had been agreed upon, the treaty was to close.

Not less magisterial was the substance of the propositions. It comprised, under the first head, the following particulars,—the abolition of the episcopal and the establishment of the presbyterian form of church government; that the Directory should be substituted for the Book of Common Prayer; that the assembly of divines should be confirmed, and that the king himself should take the covenant: under the second, that the command of the army and navy should be vested absolutely in the parliament; under the third, that the cessation in Ireland should be declared void, and hostilities be immediately renewed. On the king's part it was replied, that he could not consent to the abolition of episcopacy, which he conscientiously believed to be essential to the existence of a church, but that he was willing to have the episcopal authority confined within the narrow limits prescribed to it in the scheme of Archbishop Usher. Some other particulars he was likewise prepared to yield; such as, freedom of worship to nonconformists, and the payment of a sum of £100,000 by the church into the public treasury. The power of the sword, the next point in discussion, the king was persuaded to say he would resign, for the space of three years, into the hands of commissioners, half of whom should be nominated by himself, the other half by the parliament: subsequently, with strong reluctance, he enlarged the period to seven years. On the third head he was inflexible. One of the charges

most frequently brought against Charles by his adversaries, and most extensively believed by the people, was that, for the purpose of attaching the Roman Catholics to his cause, he had instigated and encouraged the rebellion in Ireland; and that the armistice agreed upon in that country was not the result of necessity on his part, but a contrivance to enable him to avail himself of the services of the rebels in England. On this argument, Clarendon represents himself as speaking to the following effect before the commissioners: "He put them in mind of their (the parliament's) bringing those very troops which were levied by the royal authority for the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, to fight against the king at Edgehill; of their having given over the prosecution of that war, or sending any supply of arms, money, or ammunition thither; and having, on the contrary, employed those magazines which were provided for that service against his majesty; in consequence of which the privy-council of Ireland had written home, that unless other means were provided for the preservation of that kingdom, they would not be able any longer to carry on the war against the rebels. That notwithstanding, it was not till the sum of £100,000, raised for that express purpose, had been sent in one entire sum into Scotland, to dispose and enable the Scots to raise an army to invade England, that the king had swerved in the least degree from the observation of the act of parliament which had been passed for reducing the insurgents. But when he saw that the parliament themselves, instead of prosecuting

the end and intention of that statute, only took advantage of it for the purpose of carrying on the war against himself, he thought himself absolved before God and man if he did all he could to rescue and defend himself against their violence, by making a cessation with the rebels in Ireland, and by drawing over some regiments of his own army from thence to assist him in England; to which measure was owing the preservation of the defenceless protestants of that kingdom. Those unjustifiable proceedings of the parliament, though they had compelled the king to yield to a cessation, yet could not prevail with him to make peace with the rebels. His majesty did indeed," he continued, "admit commissioners from them to attend him with propositions for that purpose. But when he found those propositions so unreasonable that he could not in conscience consent to them, and that they were inconsistent with the security of his Protestant subjects there, he totally rejected them, and dismissed the commissioners with severe animadversions. He nevertheless gave authority to the Lord Lieutenant and council to prolong the cessation, in the hope that the rebels might be brought to a better temper. Should it turn out otherwise, his majesty trusts to be enabled through the establishment of a happy peace here, by means of the present treaty, to chastise their odious and obstinate rebellion; and if now the parliament will give his majesty sufficient security, that the war in Ireland shall be prosecuted with vigour, by sending over the requisite supplies of men and money, he will put an end to the truce."

Thus those propositions which came into discussion under the three general heads of the church, the army, and Ireland, admitting as they did, in the instructions given by the parliament to their commissioners, of no modification, offered (for so they were designed to do) insuperable obstacles to the procuring of peace. Had the possible result, however, been different, had the difficulties presented in them been found surmountable, the enemies of peace, viz. the independents and the entire party of the movement, were provided with others equally unpalatable though less prominent, on which they were, in that case, to fall back. Such, for example, was the exception from pardon of the king's best friends and most loyal subjects, including among them some of the most eminent individuals in the realm, his two nephews, the princes Rupert and Maurice, being placed at the head of the list; such also was the confiscation of the estates of all persons, in any degree obnoxious to the parliament, under the title of delinquents, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the war. An accommodation, in such circumstances, was clearly hopeless. Nevertheless the commissioners, on Charles's part, desirous that their fellow-subjects should understand that no unreasonable impediment to their just desire of peace arose from the king, applied for an extension of the period allowed for the treaty; it was refused, notwithstanding the interposition, by letter, of the agent of the French government, and of the ambassadors of the United States in a personal appeal to both the houses. So resolved, in fact, were the parliament to make no concession in

this particular, that the royal commissioners judged it necessary to observe the letter of their safe conduct, and precipitately returned to Oxford on the last day for which their safety was guaranteed, wearied with the fruitless labour of twenty anxious days and broken nights.

A formal seal was thus put to that hopelessness of a peaceful arrangement of the quarrel between Charles the First and his rebel parliament, of which, previously to the negotiation, the one party had fixed, and the other too truly apprehended: the certainty of victory in the field, with the consequent power to dictate, to crush, or extinguish, was henceforth to be the only peacemaker. The king had foreseen this result, and sanguinely believed himself prepared for the consequences; the late campaign had added no presage of final success to the prospects of his adversaries; he had received promises of continental aid; while a diversion in his favour, of most flattering brilliancy, had lately been made by means of the rapid exploits of Montrose in Scotland. At Westminster, in justification, politically speaking, of the course pursued in the treaty, a more subtle design was in agitation—a design carried on by the boldest and ablest men, based on solid expectations, and supported by the command of the chief resources of the empire. The third great party, the suffering and deluded people, who had had no voice in the late momentous but undeliberative assembly, were, as they always are, the last to comprehend the true nature of their own position; they were in consternation at learning the abortive close of the negotiations, and that

the sword was not to be returned to the scabbard till blood of theirs had dyed it yet more deeply; but they were as little disposed as ever to distrust those who had so long led them to the sacrifice, encouraging their self-immolation with the cry, abused in every age, but in none so grossly as in this, of religion and liberty!

CHAPTER III.

NEW MODEL OF THE PARLIAMENTARIAN ARMY—MONTROSE.

THE civil wars of the seventeenth century, though in effect political, had their origin in the deeper sources of religious discontent. Puritanism had long been preparing the people for resistance, when that injudicious attempt, already described, to force upon the rude and fearless sects an ecclesiastical polity which they abhorred, recoiled upon its authors, and English dissent acquired consistency, and ripened into rebellion, beneath the cold but vigorous influences of Scotch presbyterianism. Political disaffection and personal ambition eagerly availed themselves of the alliance, at once to cover and effectually to promote their darker purposes. For a time common hatred of a church become, in self-defence, somewhat intolerant, and a monarchy constitutional in its nature, but despotically administered, bound together as harmoniously as could be expected of such a principle, the distinct though not heterogeneous elements of the great movement; long, indeed, after their mutual hostility had grown deadly, either side continued to wear the semblance of unanimity, the more effectually to secure the ruin of that ancient authority, ecclesiastical and monarchical, which

both had made, by many insults and wrongs, a more intolerable if not more dangerous foe. Yet the grave nonconformist, who had no objection to a servile monarch, and the unflinching republican leveller who sought to be sole monarch, at least of himself; the independent who insisted on constructing his own church, or, rather, on having none; and the presbyterian who insisted on intolerantly forcing on all other men a church which he found divinely framed in *his* interpretation of scripture, began early to feel alike the uneasiness of that copartnership into which prejudice, passion, worldly interest, and some sense of common wrong, had combined to hurry them.

We have already hinted at the existence of insubordination in the parliamentarian army. Before the point of time at which we have now arrived, similar jealousies and discontents had begun to explode in the more central arena of the parliament. The critical moment was now near when the younger-born of those confederates was to seize, with youthful but giant grasp, that power which the elder deemed his birthright. Yet the seizure was to be made, in the first instance, furtively, and under the purest pretences. The decent veil of unquestionable patriotism, the affectation of a personal sacrifice for the sake of the public good, was to shroud the step which included disloyalty to the covenanted partnership of the rebel allies, and the final throwing away of the scabbard, into which it was hitherto pretended the sword of rebellion was ever ready to be returned. In seasons of commotion no act is to be done which has

long to wait its agent. To make the first great step towards republican domination, only one man in England was fit; but that one man was so in the most consummate sense. For this work both courage and dissimulation were needed, and in Cromwell daring without parallel was united to a depth of hypocrisy not to be fathomed even by himself. In order to understand the subsequent history fo the civil wars of the seventeenth century, we must keep our attention fixed on Cromwell and his knot of friends—at first the associates, then the submissive creatures—but, from first to last, able and variously gifted as they were, the dupes, or the tools, of that inscrutable person.

With this faction, but in particular with the bold republican theorist, young Vane, Cromwell had by this time come to the conclusion that the epoch was arrived when the first commanders of the parliamentarian armies must be set aside for men more suited to existing circumstances. Of those qualifications, on the ground of which they had originally been appointed, some were now discovered to have no existence, while others actually unfitted their possessors for present command. The military talents of Essex had been overrated, and even his courage now appeared dubious; the successes of Manchester's army were chiefly to be ascribed to the ability and vigilance of his officers; the high civil rank of Warwick and Denbigh did not prevent their insignificance as generals; in fine, the interest such men had in the security of the throne, and their personal sympathy as peers, with the sovereign, had rendered them heartless and inactive

in a cause, the success of which must involve the complete humiliation if not the destruction of the monarchy. The Scotch and presbyterian party had attempted, by means of a charge of cowardice, deposed to by Crawford, a Scot, and major-general under Manchester, to wither the laurels won by Cromwell at Marston Moor: the recent occurrences before Donnington Castle presented a favourable occasion for re-opening the quarrel, with a prospect at once of effectual advantage to the cause of independency, and of satisfactory vengeance for the lieutenant-general. Having procured himself to be called upon in the House of Commons to explain why the king's challenge to a second battle had been disregarded by the conjoined army, and his subsequent march to Oxford permitted without any attempt at interruption, Cromwell threw the blame on Manchester's unwillingness to obtain such a victory in the field as must have proved an obstacle to the establishment of peace. "I showed him evidently," he said, "how this success might be obtained; and only desired leave with my own brigade of horse, to charge the king's army in their retreat, leaving it in the earl's choice, if he thought proper, to remain neutral with the rest of his forces. But, notwithstanding my importunity, he positively refused his consent, and gave no other reason, but, that if we met with a defeat, there was an end of our pretensions—we should all be rebels and traitors, and be executed and forfeited by law." These charges were immediately met by Manchester in the House of Lords. Having vindicated his own conduct in the war, he retorted upon Cromwell himself the

accusation of inefficiency at the battle of Newbury. He proceeded to advance proofs of the lieutenant-general's republican schemes and disaffection to the covenant; in one of his few unguarded moments, Cromwell had told his superior officer that "it would never be well with England till he were made plain Mr. Montague—meaning, till the privileges of peers were abolished; that the Scots had crossed the Tweed for no other purpose than to establish a religious despotism, and that in that cause he would as soon draw his sword against them as against the king; and lastly, that it was his purpose to form an army of independents, which should compel both king and parliament to submit to such conditions as he should dictate." To this proceeding of Manchester's Essex was a party, and a consultation was held in the lord general's house, between the Scotch commissioners and the English leaders of the presbyterian faction, of which the result would have been the public denunciation of Cromwell in parliament as an incendiary, and an enemy of both nations, had not Whitelocke and Maynard, who attended the conference in the capacity of legal advisers, declared their opinion that the proofs were not sufficient to sustain such a charge against "a gentleman of his subtle parts and great interest in the two houses."

But a scheme was now ready for the light— a master-contrivance of republican policy—which, if it could not silence the voice of parliamentary censure, would at least place the army in a great degree beyond its reach. Under the conduct of the managers of this scheme,

on the 9th of November, the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee to consider of the sad condition of the kingdom, in reference to the intolerable burden of the war, and the little prospect there was of its being brought to a conclusion without some alteration in the state of the army. In the committee a general silence was observed for a space, each member looking upon others as if not knowing who was to begin the debate. Cromwell at length rose. "The occasion of his rising," he said, "was of no less importance than to save the nation out of its present bleeding, nay almost dying condition. Without a more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the war, casting off all lingering proceedings like soldiers of fortune beyond the sea to spin out the contest, we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a parliament. For, what do the enemy say?—nay, what do many say, that at the beginning of the war were friends? Even this: that the members of both houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands; and what by interest in the parliament, and what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This I speak here to our own faces, is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any; I know the worth of those commanders, members of both houses, who are yet in power." "And especially," he proceeded, "I recommend it to your prudence, not to insist upon a complaint of oversight on the part of any

commander-in-chief upon any occasion whatsoever. For as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military affairs. Therefore, waving a strict inquiry into the causes of the present state of things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy which is most necessary; for I am persuaded, that if the army be not put into a better method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people will enforce you to a dishonourable peace." He expressed a confident belief, that the parliament was composed of such true English hearts—men of such zealous affections towards the general weal, that no member of either house would scruple to perform a great act of self-denial for the public good; and he concluded by proposing the following resolution: "That no member of either house of parliament shall, during the war, enjoy or execute any office or command, military or civil, and that an ordinance be brought in to that purpose." On the important point of supplying, and in a more efficient manner, the places of those whom this resolution was designed to dismiss, the same speaker, in a subsequent debate, thus significantly expressed himself: "God," he reminded the house, "had so blessed their army, that there had grown up with it, and under it, very many excellent officers who were fit for much greater charges than they were now possessed of; and he desired them not to be terrified with an imagination, that if the highest offices were vacant, they would not be able to put as fit men into them; for, besides that it was not good to put so much trust in any arm of flesh, as to think such a cause as this

depended upon any one man, he took upon him to assure them, that they had officers in their army who were fit to be generals in any enterprise in christendom."

Vane, in whose mind this resolution was probably first framed, spoke in support of it with all the force of his peculiar eloquence. Whitelocke, though generally siding with the movement, aware of the real object in view, acted with Hollis as its chief opponent, and was followed by the whole body of the presbyterians. On its reaching the House of Lords, where the great majority were of that party, and where every member plainly perceived that the ordinance was designed to operate as a disqualification of the entire hereditary nobility of the country for exercising the privileges immemorially attached to their order, a stand was made, in appearance more successful. Three several messages were successively sent up from the lower house, desiring expedition, and setting forth the danger of delay in passing the ordinance, yet with so little disposition to recommend the measure by any concession, that a proposal to exempt from its operation the lord general, was lost on a division. The Lords persevered, however; but in throwing out the bill intimated in a conference that they would be willing to entertain one of similar, but less extensive import, on being made acquainted with the particulars of the second great measure then in preparation, namely, the reconstruction of the army.

The managers in the Commons allowed them not long to wait: the very day after the delivery of the

reasons for rejecting the bill in the Lords' house, the committee of both kingdoms reported to the Commons the scheme for "new model." The concurrence of this committee, which included that of the four Scotch commissioners, is said to have been obtained by means of Vane's influence over the great head of the covenanters, the Marquess of Argyle; that influence being probably fortified by the prospect of getting rid of Cromwell, whom, with the instinctive sagacity of the bird watching the eye of the serpent destined to swallow it, they had long regarded as their worst enemy. They would naturally also be farther conciliated by finding that, in the room of Essex and Manchester, whose method of carrying out their purposes was not calculated to satisfy any party, it was proposed to place in the chief command Sir Thomas Fairfax, a presbyterian, and a popular officer among the Scots who had served in England.

By the proposed "new model," the three armies of the parliament, nominally of 10,000 men each, were re-constructed into one army of 22,000, viz. 7,600 cavalry, and 14,400 infantry. Under Fairfax, selected for the chief command, the next officer appointed was Skippon, the new major-general. A list of twenty colonels, in charge of as many regiments, followed; in which occur the names of Algernon Sidney, Fleetwood, Middleton, Ingoldsby, Rainsborough, and others of historical note. Among the inferior officers were the names, not less known, of Ireton, Desborough, Harrison. But the general roll of officers, as finally voted by the parliament, presented

a remarkable omission; the second place in command, that of lieutenant-general, was left blank, for the insertion, at a more convenient opportunity, of a name which the contrivers of this whole admirably prepared stroke of political intrigue, had no intention to dispense with; to secure whose almost unlimited power and influence, the whole scheme had indeed been concocted. On the subject of the list, the filling up of which was left entirely to Fairfax, the doomed upper house made a stand against the demands of the Commons, as well as on that of additional powers granted to the general. Finding, however, that they were likely to gain nothing in the end by resistance but popular odium, and soothed by a vague compliment to the rights and privileges of Peers, and as vague a promise from the Commons to maintain them, they yielded to a force which they were in no condition to control; the self-denying ordinance, limited in its enactments to the present time, instead of being, as in the former instance, prospective to the close of the war, was quickly passed, in conjunction with the ordinance for the new model. By that enactment, every member of either house was discharged from all civil and military offices after the expiration of forty days. Essex, Manchester, Denbigh, and Warwick had already appeared in the House of Lords, and reluctantly laid down their commissions. Fairfax, conducted into the Commons' house by four members, received the congratulations of the speaker. The independents were already triumphant. Supported by a majority in the parliament, and cheered

on their reckless march of destruction, this small band of hot republicans, with religion and freedom in their mouths, and, some few enthusiasts excepted, fanatic selfishness and hatred in their hearts, were thus enabled to launch, at will, their "thunderbolt of war"—an army 22,000 strong; the men drafted as the ablest and fittest for their purpose from the old, well-trained regiments; the officers nominated by a commander-in-chief, himself of good military talents but moderate intellect and unsuspicious temper, whom it was designed to hoodwink and overrule by means of the blushless hypocrisy and unhesitating soldiership of Cromwell. To crown the efficiency of the scheme, Fairfax's commission studiously avoids all mention of the existence of regal authority in the realm; it contains no clause providing for the safety of the king's person; but he is directed to "lead his armies against all and singular enemies, rebels, traitors, and other like offenders, and every of their adherents; with them to fight, and them to invade, resist, repress, subdue, pursue, slay, kill, and put in execution of death, by all ways and means."

But, before we pursue farther the main course of our "great argument," it will be necessary to glance at that brilliant episode which diversified it, while the events lately narrated were passing. Allusion was made, in a former page, to a proposal from the Earl of Montrose, through queen Henrietta, to raise a diversion in favour of the royal cause in Scotland; where, in spite of the known loyalty of a great proportion of the people, the despotism of the covenant prevailed

almost without opposition. The offer met with no encouragement; and the valour and genius of the earl found, for a season, no wider sphere than some desultory command, on the Scottish borders, under the Marquess of Newcastle. But the influence of Hamilton, by whom that proposal had been defeated, rapidly declined, till Charles at length became so convinced of his late favourite's perfidy, as, towards the close of the year (1643), to cause him to be arrested at Oxford, with his brother Laneric, and confined in Pendennis Castle. This step was the result of information laid before the king by Montrose, who in the beginning of the troubles had served with the covenantersin Scotland; who since his return to loyalty had followed all their movements with keen and hostile observation; and hence was thoroughly acquainted with the secret springs, both of danger and of hope, at work in that calculating and intriguing faction. The plan of this adventurous nobleman for reviving the ancient Scottish loyalty from its ashes, was now favourably received by his sovereign. He was appointed lieutenant-general, under Prince Maurice, of all the royal forces north of the Tweed; the Earl of Antrim, an Irish nobleman of Scotch descent, who had married the widow of the famous Duke of Buckingham, being associated with him in the enterprise. Antrim, a weak vainglorious person, had no other requisite for the undertaking, besides a double share of Montrose's hatred to Argyle, which in him was hereditary; with the possession of estates in that savage part of the province of Ulster, whence a descent could most conveniently be made

upon the opposite coast. He, nevertheless, promised to raise there, in a short time, a force of 10,000 men, and carry them across, to form the basis of a royalist army.

Montrose received his commission, and was created a marquess, in the spring of 1644. This was all that the impoverished king was able to do towards the furtherance of the project. The marquess left the court accompanied only by a few gentlemen, his attendants, and attempted to raise, in the northern counties, a force sufficient to penetrate into Scotland, and join the promised succours from the Earl of Antrim. He surprised Dumfries, but was repulsed, and forced to retreat upon Carlisle. The disastrous battle of Marston Moor followed, and extinguished all hope of his obtaining means in England to renew the attempt. The whole of Scotland was now in the hands of the rebels, nor was any thing heard of the Irish auxiliaries. Montrose held a consultation with his friends, the issue of which was, that, considering further efforts to be useless, the party marched out of Carlisle, purposing to return to the king at Oxford. At the end, however, of the second day's march, the undaunted leader, attended by two faithful followers, Sir William Rollock and another officer, privately quitted the cavalcade, determining, in pursuance of his original plan, to endeavour to pass the border in secret.

"There is not in the annals of fiction," writes Mr. Napier, the recent biographer of the heroic marquess, "a more interesting and romantic incident than this undoubted historical fact, that Montrose, disguised as the groom of two covenanting troopers, whom Rollock

and Sibbald personated, mounted on a sorry nag, and leading another in his hand, rode in the rear of his two companions, to the borders, where he narrowly escaped a detection that would have brought him instantly to the scaffold. Their first peril was a conversation with a servant of Sir Richard Graham's, who, mistaking the trio for soldiers of Lesly's army, entertained them with the information that his master, Sir Richard, had undertaken to act as a spy upon the borders for the very purpose of conveying to the covenanters intelligence of the motions of the royalists, and of making prisoners any of Montrose's adherents who might be returning to Scotland. This troublesome companion at length separated from our adventurers, without having observed any thing to excite his suspicions, far less to inform him that it was Montrose himself with whom he had been conversing. No sooner, however, was this peril past than a greater occurred. They were suddenly accosted by a Scotch soldier, who had formerly served under the Marquess of Newcastle, and who was well acquainted with the person of Montrose. Against the scrutiny of this old campaigner no masquerade was availing. Montrose's 'quick and piercing eye,' and 'singular grace in riding,' were not to be disguised; and, accordingly, this soldier, passing the seeming officers, at once addressed himself to their servant, and respectfully saluted him as my Lord of Montrose. In vain the latter endeavoured to evade the compliment and sustain his part. 'What,' exclaimed the soldier, still preserving the utmost respect in his countenance and manner, 'do I not know my Lord Marquess of Montrose? Go your

way, and God be with you wheresoever you go.' Montrose bestowed a few crowns upon his unwelcome admirer, who left them to their journey, and never betrayed the secret, though he might have made his own fortune by the discovery."

These incidents materially quickened the pace of the travellers, who pushed on almost without resting their horses, till Montrose found himself at the house of Tillibelton, the residence of his cousin Patrick Graham, of Inchbrakie. In this vicinity he passed some days, endeavouring to ascertain the state of parties in Scotland; concealing himself by day in an obscure cottage near the mansion, and passing the night with the shepherds among the mountains—haunts well known to him from his youth—during the night. From these rude companions of his concealment he learned some vague reports respecting a party of Irish, lately landed upon the isles and western coast of Scotland; and his conjecture that these might be a portion of the promised army from the Marquess of Antrim, was confirmed by the contents of a letter, secretly put into his cousin's hands to be forwarded to him at Carlisle, where he was still believed in Scotland to be staying.

This epistle was from Alaster Macdonald, a cousin of Antrim's, known in the history of Montrose's wars as Kolkitto (i. e. Coll Keitache, or the left-handed). It acquainted Montrose that the writer had landed, by Antrim's orders, in Argyleshire, with about 1200 of the Ulster Caterans, or wild Irish of Scotch descent; that his transports had been burnt by a fleet dispatched for that purpose by Argyle; that he had taken the castle

of Mingary, and burnt and plundered an extensive line of coast. The letter was written from Badenoch, and concluded with the farther information that Argyle, with a well-appointed army, was then following in his rear, and that, though letters and commissions brought over by him had been forwarded to several of the king's friends, not a man had hitherto joined the expedition. This news, as the total issue of Antrim's promises, and of many concurrent assurances that the loyal clans would appear in arms, the instant the cry of "The King and the Graham" should be raised in the highlands, was sufficiently discouraging. Nevertheless, Montrose returned an instant answer, as if from Carlisle, appointing a rendezvous with Macdonald. Accordingly, two days later, the chieftain met his wild allies at Blair-Athol, not with the imposing insignia and attendance befitting his title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, but furnished with his bare commission, and accompanied only by his cousin Patrick Graham, with whom he had travelled on foot over the mountains. Yet, his martial figure and noble bearing were studiously recommended to the band of Scoto-Irish by the garb of the Gael,—the plaid, the trouse, the bonnet; the broadsword by his side, the pike and target in hand. The next day he was joined by eight hundred of the Athol highlanders, numbering, with their brethren of the sister isle, about 2,000 men, armed with battle-axes, broad-swords, pikes, bows and arrows; many, with no better weapons than clubs or stones, and the few muskets they possessed being nearly useless for want of ammunition. It was in the presence of such an

army—if so it may be called—that, in the month of August, 1644, the Marquess of Montrose fearlessly unfurled the royal standard among the crags and torrents of Athol, in the heart of a land held in thraldom by a powerful rebel faction, and on a spot lacerated by the despotic severity of Argyle, his own, and, as he deemed him, his country's foe.

No time was lost by the committee of Estates in raising levies to oppose, and, if possible, at once to crush, the attempt of Montrose. Lord Elcho, and the Earl of Tullibardine, assembled the armed covenanters of Perthshire, Fife, and Angus; the young Lord Kilpont was directed to join them with levies from Monteith. But Kilpont, falling in with the Marquess's advanced guard, and ascertaining that he bore a commission from the king, at once transferred his division, amounting to about four hundred men, to the royalist ranks. The army of the covenanters was discovered by Montrose drawn up in order of battle on Tippermuir, a wide plain, a few miles from Perth. It consisted of between 6000 and 7000 foot, supported by 700 or 800 horse, and covered by nine pieces of cannon. Upon this vastly superior force his half-naked band, the men of Athol in the van, rushed impetuously down. The cavalry of the covenanters instantly fled in the direction of Perth; their example was followed by the terrified infantry; and the motley adherents of the royal standard "fleshed" their mingled weapons upon the less active lowlanders, and the heavy burgesses of "St. John's town," from morning to nightfall, when the capture of the whole of the enemy's guns, ammunition, baggage, and colours,

with the undisputed possession of the town, rewarded their tumultuary valour. In Perth the victors found provisions, clothing, and military stores in abundance. But these fruits of conquest proved by no means an unmixed advantage to Montrose; a great proportion of the Athol men, according to the usual practice of the clans, deeming the expedition at an end, and retiring to the mountains with their share of spoil.

After a repose of three days in Perth, the lieutenant-general, finding that but few of those friends came in who were expected to gather round the royal standard, crossed the Tay and marched eastward. His encampment at Collace, near Cupar, was signalized by an event which deeply affected him, and marks the barbarity of the age. Among those adherents who had been brought over (unwillingly, as it afterwards appeared,) by Kilpont, was his clansman, Stewart of Ardvoirlich, a man of fierce passions and gigantic strength, whom he imprudently treated with the familiarity of an equal friend. This man, intending to rejoin the covenanters, either bribed by them, or at least willing to make himself acceptable to their party, resolved to assassinate Montrose, or some one of his principal officers. Imagining that he had sufficient influence over Kilpont to extort his concurrence, he conducted him to a solitary quarter of the camp, and there acquainted him with his detestable purpose. Kilpont indignantly rejected the proposal, when the other with his dirk suddenly struck him dead. The murderer fled—cut down two sentinels, who threw themselves across his path to arrest him—and event-

ually escaped through the thick haze of an autumnal morning. But the base treachery which marked these assassinations did not prevent the attainment of their object. The Scottish parliament justified and rewarded them by a vote of pardon and thanks to the perpetrator, for "his good service to the kingdom;" and Argyle, without a blush, made the assassin an officer in his own regiment. After this tragedy, Stewart's friends, with the other followers of Kilpont, deserted the royal standard.

With numbers diminished to less than 3,000 men—though now, it is true, possessing a small party of horse, an arm which at Tippermuir he was absolutely without—the noble adventurer pursued his march through Angus to Aberdeen. There a force far superior to his own, under the command of Lord Burleigh, was assembled to oppose him. Montrose, in an engagement which took place on the 13th, routed them nevertheless, with little loss, and took forcible possession of the town, where his soldiers committed many acts of cruelty and pillage which he vainly exerted himself to prevent. Spoil was, in fact, their only pay, and bloodshed familiar to their habits. In the mean time Argyle, with overwhelming numbers, continued to track his course: Perth and Aberdeen had been in succession no sooner evacuated by the royalists, than they were occupied by the enemy. At Aberdeen a proclamation was issued by the general of the Estates, denouncing the king's lieutenant, and all his followers, as traitors to religion, their country, and their sovereign, and offering a reward of twenty thousand pounds for Montrose's person, alive or dead.

And now it was, that, to adopt the language of the modern admirer and vindicator of Montrose, "he entered upon that almost incredible round of forced marches, sudden onfalls, and rapid and masterly retreats; again and again retracing his steps, even as the winter was setting in, through the wildest and most untrodden districts, and over the most inaccessible mountains of Scotland, rarely in a beaten track, and continually struggling through snow-wreaths, rocks, and mists, and inland seas; which, even in the opinion of those who question both the principle and the prudence of his undertaking, must stamp the first campaign of Montrose in Scotland, as among the most striking recorded efforts of military genius and enterprise." "Thrice," says *Baillie in astonishment*, "he wound about from Spey to Athol." Throughout the greater part of these "coursings," Argyle followed, but at a cautious distance; fearing, though the pursuer, that conflict, which he who seemed the fugitive did not desire to shun. For the tie that bound together the desultory parties of which Montrose's army consisted, was not discipline, nor, perhaps, loyalty, but rather that constant spirit of enterprise, which even victory would have relaxed; his object was, not immediate partial conflict, but, by rousing the loyal districts of Scotland with a sight of the king's standard, and the war-cry of a known leader, to prepare the way for shaking off from his country the whole incubus of rebellion. Once, but once only, he avoided battle. Macdonald had been detached, with a division of his Kerns, on a separate expedition to the western highlands, when Montrose fell in with

the army of the Estates, augmented, by the recent junction of the northern covenanters, to 15,000 foot and above 1,000 horse. To engage, in a general attack, an army whose strength in cavalry alone nearly equalled that of his own entire force, was impossible. He therefore availed himself of the shelter of a wood, on the skirts of which some skirmishing took place, for several successive days, with no advantage to the more numerous party. At length Argyle adopted a mode of warfare more suited to his genius; he succeeded, by means of bribes and persuasions, in detaching the majority of his enemy's lowland followers, who were mostly, indeed, unequal to the tremendous hardships of a winter campaign in those inhospitable regions. But the defection made no change in the purposes of Graham. He now, in turn, at the end of November, became the pursuer. Learning that Argyle had dismissed his horse to winter-quarters, and was marching southward with his infantry, he again traversed the mountains, now clothed in all their wintry horrors, with the purpose of forcing him to fight; but the wary covenanter, getting timely notice, left his army to shift for itself, hastened to Perth, and thence to Edinburgh; where, moved by his own shame, or by the dissatisfaction of his employers, he resigned his commission.

At Blair-Athol, their original place of rendezvous, Alaster Macdonald rejoined the expedition with a reinforcement of 500 royalists. Montrose now resolved to retaliate upon his foe the severities which Argyle had inflicted on those districts called "malignant," by carrying

the war into the heart of that chieftain's country. Advancing through Breadalbane, and along the borders of Loch Tay, he marched right upon the Campbell's strong hold of Inverary, deemed by himself inaccessible to an enemy. The great Mac Cailinmore, who stretched the despotism of rebellion over all Scotland, fled affrighted before the leader of a little tumultuary band, on whose head he had so lately set a price. Throwing himself into a fishing-boat, he made his escape to Dumbarton, leaving his broad inheritance to be wasted by fire and rapine. Nor was the work of destruction negligently done. "From Inverary to Lorn and Glenco, and thence through Lochaber to Glengarry and Loch Ness," the flocks and herds were all swept away, every thing combustible committed to the flames, and the whole country reduced to "a howling wilderness." No blood, however, flowed in this fierce fray; "in regard," drily remarks the contemporary historian, "that all the people also, following their lord's example, had delivered themselves by flight."

Argyle's staff was given to General Baillie, under whom the renegade Hurry was appointed second in command. Marching westward from Perth, Baillie found Argyle at Dumbarton, and proceeded under his guidance to encounter Montrose, who was now pursuing the work of devastation in Lochaber. "And the marquess, knowing well that the enemy was gone, went home with pomp and convened all his friends from their lurking-places to follow upon Montrose's rear. And, to make his power the more formidable,

he called over from Ireland Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbrech, a colonel in the Scotch army there, and divers other commanders of his name. The project was, that when Baillie's army did charge Montrose in the front, Argyle and his men (who were till then to march slowly, and keep at a distance) should come up and fall upon his rear, whereby he might inevitably be swallowed up."

It was Montrose's first intention, with a view to avoid the obvious danger of being enclosed between two armies, to advance eastward, and at once give battle to the general. Suddenly, however, he learned that Argyle, pursuing his accustomed caution, had posted his army securely under the walls of Inverlochy, there to wait the issue of the expected conflict. By a rapid and secret march across the mountains of Lochaber, exceeding in difficulty all that had gone before, he brought his little army, at sunset on the second day, within sight of the frowning towers of that ancient castle. On the first alarm, that a division of the royalists had appeared in the vicinity of Inverlochy, the chief of the Campbells, taking with him his most intimate friends (and among them, says bishop Guthry, "Mr. Mungo Law, minister of Edinburgh, whom he had invited to go along with him to bear witness to the wonders he meant to perform,") embarked in his galley on the loch. The sun had just risen, when, springing from the foot of Ben Nevis, where, "wet and weary, in frost and snow," they had passed the night in arms, Montrose's rude battalions poured down upon Inverlochy. His right consisted of an Irish

regiment led by Alaster Macdonald; his left, of a similar corps commanded by a gallant Hibernian gentleman, named O'Kyan; in the centre advanced the noble Graham himself, accompanied by a few horse, and supported by the highlanders of Athol and Glenco. From the boat, whence he issued his orders, Argyle beheld, in the very first charge, his standard captured, and his whole army thrown into irretrievable confusion. Numbers of the Campbells, though deserted by their chief, fell bravely fighting, claymore in hand, where they stood; but the greater part, cut down in the pursuit, strewed the banks or stained the waters of the loch, for the space of many miles. It would appear hardly credible, did not the records of that decisive day agree in the statement, that while the slain on the Campbell's side amounted to full fifteen hundred, on the part of the loyalists no more than four individuals perished; of whom, however, one was Sir Thomas Ogilvy, the dearest friend of Montrose, whose prowess had greatly contributed to the result.

The battle of Inverlochy was fought on the 2nd day of February. On the 12th Argyle appeared before the parliament at Edinburgh, "having," writes Guthry, "his left arm tied up in a scarf, as if he had been at a bones-breaking;" and there, with a degree of veracity proportioned to his courage, narrated the disastrous close of his expedition. Meanwhile the victor transmitted to Oxford a manly and soldier-like despatch, in which, after giving an account of his successes, he encouraged Charles's hopes of a triumphant issue to the great contest in which he was engaged, and implored

him not to make peace with the rebel parliament till they had laid down their arms. This letter reached the king just before the expiration of the treaty at Uxbridge, and may have helped to encourage him in that stedfast adherence to the great principles he had laid down for his guidance, which some writers have branded as "infatuated obstinacy;" but it can scarcely have had any thing to do with the breaking up of the negotiations. That Charles had become a thorough convert to Montrose's views with regard to Scotland, and expected his lieutenant's brilliant exploits to have the effect of ultimately turning the scale of fortune in his favour, is evident from his letters written about this time. We may blame the sanguine temper and ready confidence which betrayed the king; for in the main object of rousing Scotland to a sense of loyal duty to her sovereign, little or no progress had been made; while all that had been achieved besides was likely to prove worthless, if not injurious to the royal cause. The motives of Montrose himself were not believed free from the stimulus of private hatred; the names of Antrim and his popish Caterans excited the most virulent abhorrence throughout the whole covenanting community; the mode of carrying on the war was both barbarous in itself and futile in its results. Flaming villages, and devastated fields, and towns plundered, or choked with the carcases of helpless burghers; but neither affections conciliated, nor military positions established: these were trophies worse than useless to a monarch engaged in a contest with his subjects. In short, the wars of Montrose, even while victory

followed without a check the standard he so bravely bore, could afford no solid benefits to compensate the facilities presented by them, for the malicious comments of the king's enemies, or the regrets they occasioned to the judicious among his friends. It is for this reason that we have passed so hastily over a history, the romantic details of which might have been expected to be found in a work which professes to bring into prominence the *heroic* features of the history of the civil wars. Montrose's ardour did not, however, in the least betray his judgment, when, in the dispatch referred to, he thus spoke of the parliament. "The more your majesty grants, the more will be asked, and I have too much reason to know that they will not rest satisfied with less than making your majesty a king of straw."

CHAPTER IV.

OXFORD—SUFFERINGS OF THE COUNTRY.

CHARLES had quickly occasion to perceive, notwithstanding the comparatively favourable issue of the late campaign, the fitful lustre thrown upon his arms by the actions of Montrose, and the divided state of the enemy, that the cause of monarchy, in his view so sacred, (and, because sacred, therefore ultimately sure), had, since the failure of the Uxbridge treaty, grievously sunk in the estimation even of his own court. The anti-parliament, which, on the occasion of their first sitting at Oxford, in the winter of 1643-4, advocated peace, but in a tone of respect and moderation, was now, at its re-assembling, disturbed by a faction resolved to force the king to continue his attempts to procure an accommodation on any terms. "Base and mutinous motions," as Charles himself characterized them, were brought forward by this party to effect their object: among others, one for the impeachment of Digby, the strenuous opponent of dishonourable compromise, on whose advice the king, at this time, placed much dependence. He therefore prorogued the untractable assembly, and deprived the leaders of the faction of their power to obstruct his measures, by sending them into honourable exile in attendance on the queen. It was with reference to these occurrences

that, in a letter to Henrietta, he let fall the expression "mongrel parliament," so frequently harped upon by those who themselves vehemently denied the right of that "junto," as they styled it, to be regarded as legitimate. His use of that contemptuous epithet is reasonably enough explained by the king. "The truth is," he writes to secretary Nicholas, in August, 1645, "that Sussex's factiousness at that time put me somewhat out of patience, which made me freely vent my displeasure against those of his party, to my wife; and the intention of that phrase was, that his faction did what they could to make it come to that, by their raising and fomenting of base propositions."

The clamour for peace, to be purchased by whatever sacrifice, nevertheless continued loud in Oxford. In the pleasant, but somewhat anomalous head quarters of the belligerent monarch, were assembled nearly all those who, from motives of fear or self-interest, most dreaded a disastrous termination, or even a longer continuance, of the war. Courtiers, whose large hereditary rentals were now unequal to supply the demands of fashionable luxury, or even of modest need, while their princely mansions and "immemorial woods," yielding their ancient honours to the destroying hand of sequestration, swelled the rebel treasury at Goldsmith's Hall, and strung the sinews of that war which consumed themselves: ladies, who looked forward with terror to another campaign, when the necessities of the king would oblige him at once to reduce the garrison, and to leave Oxford exposed to inroads from the advanced posts of the enemy, or even from fresh armies which

they might pour westward out of the capital: the unwarlike tribe of university doctors and professors, at this time numerously reinforced by loyal country clergymen, who had sought security from military violence and agrarian insult beneath the ægis of the Christian Athena:—such, mingled with the men of diplomacy, the gallant cavaliers, and the coarser soldiery, constituted the multifarious and thronging population of those fanes consecrated to learning, those "awful cells," the dim retreats raised for piety and meditation. Of necessity, the ordinary calm pursuits of the university were interrupted, or wholly suspended. The progress of the great contest—the news of every hour—presented a subject too exciting, not to take precedence of, or to exclude, every ordinary topic. The unwonted and incongruous multitude required extraordinary supplies of provision, which had often to be brought from a distance; and, many times, waggons laden with flour and country produce were intercepted, herds of cattle, collected with no gentle hand by the royalists, were swept off by bolder or more numerous bands, within the parliamentarian lines, to fatten the London citizens, or to supply Fairfax's sturdy troopers with that vigour which they displayed equally in devotion and in fighting. No marvel, that in the university and city, as thus circumstanced, were found those who anxiously joined the common cry for peace. In their united petition for it, in 1644, they represent to the king "the study of good literature, for so many ages famously extant in this ancient university, neglected—our city reduced to great distresses;" and crave a termination

to the cruel contest between himself and his parliament, "that the schools of good learning in the kingdom, especially this famous university, may again flourish, and bring forth painful labourers and pious instructors into the Lord's vineyard." The terrors and uneasiness of the more numerous, and less informed, were at the same time encouraged by the desertion to the parliament of several peers and other eminent persons, whose selfishness took alarm at the growing difficulties of the king. Dering led the way; Savile, Andover, Mowbray, followed. "What a running disease," sneered the scurrilous London mercuries, "possesses these Oxford lords! It is a sign the building is ready to fall, when the pillars slip away."

Oxford, however, notwithstanding its inconveniences and its fears, both of which were immeasurably augmented when the dreaded departure of the king became the signal for the approach of a parliamentarian army to within musketshot of its walls, was among the few places in the kingdom that enjoyed an exemption from the more formidable evils attendant on a state of civil warfare. Every county, and a large proportion of the towns, of England, had been the scene of bloodshed and rapine. The occasional barbarities, and habitual license and oppression, of which the troops and even the officers, of the royalist army, were guilty, are confessed and deplored on many occasions by the noble historian: on the other hand, the entries in the ruder but not less honest record of Whitelocke, frequently relate, about this time in particular, to the criminal atrocities of the parliamentarian soldiers. On this

painful subject a distinction has been drawn. It is alleged, that the disorders in the rebel armies were attributable only to the coarse passions of the common soldiers, and were perpetrated in spite of the exertions of their officers to preserve strict discipline; that in the king's armies, on the contrary, the brutal excesses of the men were countenanced by the laxity, insolence, and irreligion of the chiefs. In this remark there appears to be, unhappily, some truth; but any degree of odium which it may seem to withdraw from those in authority on the parliamentarian side, returns with double force when we contemplate the parliament itself, the pretended fountain of authority, sanctioning and commanding atrocities, which, without prompting, the army would scarcely have hazarded. By an ordinance of Oct. 24, 1644, all Irishmen taken in arms were to be put to death; a decree which the subordinate generals of the parliament lost no time in rigorously executing: only the humane mind of Fairfax revolted from this barbarity. It was the custom on board their fleet to bind back to back and throw into the sea, without distinction, seamen or soldiers found in captured vessels belonging to Ireland; and an instance will presently be related, in which, on pretence of obedience to this barbarous law, a multitude of defenceless women were cut to pieces by Cromwell's troopers.

In connexion with crimes so atrocious and disgraceful, the destruction of property, the suspension of trade and social intercourse, the dreary blank and the unchristian bitterness, thrown over the surface, or diffused through the familiar channels of daily life, may appear

less worthy of notice. Yet these too were grievous evils; and, like the others, the more formidable, as both springing from, and reproducing, a demoralization of the national mind. The country houses of the nobility and gentry, often curious examples of ancient magnificence, or splendid proofs of more recent taste, were mostly converted into fortresses; and, in that capacity, were subject to every form of destruction incident to a state of war—to plunder, defacement, burning, demolition. And these were sometimes perpetrated in mere wantonness. Both Clarendon and Walker record, with indignant regret, the unnecessary burning of Cambden House, between Stow and Evesham, by order of Prince Rupert; an edifice which, not many years before, had cost above thirty thousand pounds. The destruction of the woods on delinquents' estates was a practice to which the parliament had recourse continually, and on any pretext: for the use of the navy, to raise funds for pensioning officers' widows, for provisioning the garrison of one place, or undertaking the siege of another. The plundering and desecration of churches was another practice, which continued throughout the war: the entrance of the parliament's forces into a cathedral town was usually followed by the despatching of a waggon-load of surplices, hoods, communion-plate, &c., to Westminster, or by a distribution of clerical plunder among the soldiers. For these spoils a market was found on the continent: the curiosity shops of Holland were glutted with the pillage of our English temples and palaces. Referring to the interruption of the ordinary affairs of life by

this protracted contest, the pamphlet before cited, entitled, "England's Fears," presents us with the following animated lamentation: "Behold" (it is England who is personified as speaking) "how my plundered yeoman wants hinds and horses to plough up my fertile soil; the poor labourer, who used to mingle the morning dew with his annealed sweat, shakes at his work for fear of pressing; the tradesman shuts up his shop, and keeps more holidays than willingly he would; the merchant walks to the exchange only to learn news, not to negotiate. Sweet Peace! thou which wast used to make princes' courts triumph with tilt and tournaments, and other gallantries; to make them receive lustre by foreign ambassadors; to make the arts and sciences flourish; to make cities and suburbs shine with goodly structures; to make the country ring with the huntsman's horn, and the shepherd's pipe: how comes it to pass that blood-thirsty discord now usurps thy place, and flings about her snakes in every corner?"

In such a deplorable state of things, notwithstanding all the parade which one side, at least, made of religion, neither unaffected piety nor true morality could flourish. Far from repenting of those sins on account of which divine Providence had permitted the scourge of rebellion and war to ravage the nation, new crimes were introduced. In the midst of prolix details of trivial political occurrences, we meet with this naked, unnoted record, "twenty witches executed in Norfolk." The kidnapping of children, probably for sale in the plantations, grew so frequent a practice, that at length the parliament passed an ordinance for its suppression,

under the name of "spiriting." Ministers of the gospel habitually perverted the pulpit (to the use of which the public service of God was now wholly restricted) to the purposes of strife and bloodshed: the famous sermon delivered at Uxbridge by Robert Love, on the assembling of the commissioners there to treat of peace, in which he encouraged the rebels to the slaughter of their opponents as "the Lord's work," was singular, not for its anti-christian spirit, but merely for the audacity implied in the occasion. Respecting the demoralization introduced into families, we have abundance of contemporary testimony. "Alas," exclaims a writer of the time, "in this intestine war of ours we are so desperately wicked and void of all natural affection, that divers gentlemen, of both parties, have looked upon their nearest kinsmen that were wallowing in their own blood, without offering them their aid, or casting a sigh of compassion for them. Nay, some have been so cruel, and deprived of all natural affection, that they and their abettors have ridden twenty miles in a dark night to surprise their father, uncle, or brother, to carry them away to their own garrison, to wring out of their hands some considerable ransom; which being refused, they have deprived them in another night of all their cattle and means, and reduced them (that were knights' fellows) to Job's case, without any compassion or reluctation."

The neglect and ill-treatment to which ordinary prisoners of war were exposed, is another frightful feature of the times. The story of the soldiers and others taken at Cirencester, early in the war, which

deeply implicates the king himself in a charge of inhumanity, is, no doubt, a gross exaggeration. But it is too certain, that in the crowded fortresses and other depôts belonging to both parties, humanity was not unfrequently outraged. Yet these deep shadows in the great picture of calamity, are relieved by some touches of light: the struggles and sacrifices made by the friends of captives, in negociating exchanges, and in other methods for their deliverance, present incidents consolatory to the lover of mankind. Nor was beneficence of a more public sort wholly wanting; an instance of which was witnessed in the congregation at Carfax Church, Oxford, where a collection was made, every Sunday, for the support of the numerous unhappy victims of the war confined in that city.

A remarkable and ominous circumstance was the number of executions which marked the period of the decline of the Presbyterian, and the sudden growth of the Independent influence. Sir Alexander Carew, who in the beginning of the war had distinguished himself by his enmity to the king, but who afterwards became a sincere convert to loyalty, and was detected in an attempt to surrender the fort at Plymouth to the royalists, was beheaded December the 23rd on Tower Hill. The Hothams, father and son, whose crime was similar to Carew's, and the elder of whom, by closing the gates of Hull against his sovereign, may be said to have been the immediate cause of commencing the war, suffered upon the same fatal spot, the one on the 1st, the other on the 2nd of January. Clarendon strikingly describes the unpitied fall of these persons

as "an act of divine justice, executed by those at Westminster." The next victim flung to the devouring Moloch of civil and religious strife, was the brave, the venerable, and learned Laud. More than four years of his advanced age had "shed their snows" upon the prelate's head, since the agonizing day when Strafford, then on his passage to eternity, knelt beneath the grating of that honoured cell, to receive a last blessing from his deeply conscientious, but too zealous, spiritual and political father; a long, and, to the sufferer, harassing suspension of the blow, but arguing no forgetfulness on the part of his executioners, who, in patient confidence of the end, stood all the while uplifting "that two-handed engine at the door." Laud's execution took place January 10th. On the 20th of the month following, occurred that of Macguire, an Irishman of rank, sentenced for his share in his country's rebellion. In the case of this man, there was little to engage sympathy, if we except the persecution which, in common with the archbishop, he encountered on the scaffold. The part acted in Laud's case by the zealous puritan Sir John Clotworthy, was performed in the instance of the Irish baron by Gibbs, sheriff of London, and the Presbyterian minister Sibbald. He persisted in denying that he had acted as an agent in the rebellion, either under a commission from the king, or in reliance on any promise of absolution from the pope; and he declined the attendance of Dr. Sibbald, on the ground of his own religion being the Roman Catholic. The poor fellow sought earnestly to prepare himself for death his own way. "Since I am here to

die," he said, "I desire to depart with a quiet mind, and with the marks of a good Christian; that is, asking forgiveness first of God, and next of the world. And I do, from the bottom of my heart, forgive all my enemies, even those that have a hand in my death." He concluded with a request, which he had before urged, "I beseech you, gentlemen, let me have a little time to say my prayers." The zeal of his tormentors was, however, inexorable. His beads and crucifix, with some papers containing his confessor's directions for his behaviour on the scaffold, were rudely taken from him, by the hands of those champions of law, liberty, and toleration; and nearly the last words of the wretched man were still the petition, in vain repeated, "For Jesus Christ's sake, I beseech you to give me a little time to prepare myself for death!"

The growing vigour of the Independent party was evinced in many other ways. The Assembly of Divines, a copy of the national assembly of the Scottish kirk, though, in the first instance, composed almost exclusively of Presbyterians, rapidly yielded to the lawless impulses which swayed without, and was filled with antinomians, anabaptists, millenarians,—with adherents, in short, of almost all those multifarious sects, whom the fanatical temper of the period, and the nature of the contest in which the country was engaged, had called into existence. These anomalous factions, united however by the common aim of freedom for conscience, readily lent their aid in the work of ecclesiastical ruin; in stripping away copes and surplices, in demolishing and mutilating ancient monuments, in pulling down

organs; but to the business of reconstruction, in any shape, they were utterly opposed, and set themselves as earnestly against the proposed government by presbyters, classes, and synods, as both the Presbyterians and their discordant colleagues had before done against the existing authority of archbishops, bishops, and deans. "The opposition between them," writes a modern historian, "grew fierce and obstinate: day after day, week after week, was consumed in unavailing debates. The lords Say and Wharton, Sir Henry Vane, and Mr. St. John, contended warmly in favour of toleration: they were as warmly opposed by 'the divine eloquence of the chancellor' of Scotland, the commissioners from the kirk, and several eminent members of the English parliament. Eighteen months had elapsed since the assembly was first convened, and yet it had accomplished nothing of importance, except the composition of a Directory for the public worship." The once flourishing church of England had indeed been levelled with the ground, but its root still survived in the affections and habits of the people;—spurned, trampled, drained of all but its divine vitality, it was yet ready, when the allotted period of its judicial ruin, and the ripened purposes of Providence, should be complete, to raise its stately head and extend its sheltering branches; while the discipline of the Directory was from the first a thing void of every element of life. At no time more than very partially observed, its authors quickly saw it wholly neglected—a naked and uncouth monument of their presumption.

CHAPTER V.

CAMPAIGN OF 1645—NASEBY.

THE prosecution of the war, as far as the nature of the season allowed, had not been in any degree intermitted during the conference at Uxbridge. In the middle of the treaty the town of Weymouth was surprised, and partly occupied by the king's troops; on the other side, Shrewsbury, one of Charles's most important garrisons, was betrayed to the parliament on the very day of its expiration. Great exertions were made by the parliament to give effect to their new model, by voting abundant military supplies for the approaching campaign. Nor was the king less anxiously engaged in preparations for the decisive struggle which he foresaw. But the total want of pecuniary resources, to which he was by this time reduced, presented a most embarrassing difficulty. He endeavoured, by means of negotiations conducted through the queen's agency at Paris, to obtain aid from the French king and the Duke of Lorraine; the latter of whom appears to have promised to bring over 10,000 men to his assistance. He also directed the Duke of Ormond to settle, on any terms he chose, the differences in Ireland, that he might be enabled to avail himself of the support of his Roman catholic subjects in that country.

Apprehensive, in the mean time, that Oxford, towards

which the enemy had of late made threatening advances, must, sooner or later, undergo the dangers of a siege, he determined to provide for the security of the prince of Wales, by sending him into the west, where the royal authority was still paramount. The place chosen for his royal highness's residence, as promising both safety and convenience, was Bristol. Thither accordingly the young prince proceeded, early in the month of March, with two regiments of guards, under the command of Lord Capel and the Marquess of Hertford, attended by Lord Colepepper, Hyde, and others of the king's council.

The establishment of a court for the prince, separate from that of his royal parent, tended to the increase of those feuds among the royalists, which have been, in some degree, described. His majesty's authority at Oxford, already extremely weak, was farther lessened by it, without the least prospect of vigour being communicated to that of his youthful representative. It was Charles's original intention not to invest the prince with a military command, because he foresaw that the necessary delegation of the duties of the office to others, in consequence of his youth, would not fail to aggravate the existing jealousies and disputes. But Rupert, when, in an evil hour, he was offered the chief command of the army, had touched a string in the king's heart which never vibrated without pleasure, by refusing to accept it unless in quality of lieutenant to his cousin. Accordingly, Prince Charles was appointed generalissimo of all the king's armies; and a deputation of noblemen and gentlemen coming at this time to solicit the king's

approval of an association of the four western counties, which they desired to place under the prince's immediate direction; at the same time offering to provide for his dignity, and to raise troops for the defence of his person; the king consented farther to nominate him its general. In the end, this double command, conferred on a youth of eighteen, became either wholly insignificant, or absolutely injurious to the royal cause.

A wiser policy, both projected and executed by one master-intellect, directed the affairs of the parliament. From this time, during a long succession of years, the destinies of England, as far as they were committed to the operation of second causes, are mainly beheld in the career of Cromwell. Under the direction, secret or acknowledged, of that extraordinary person, the reconstruction of the army was completed, without mutinies, and almost without discontents among the soldiery: wherever any such occurred, his activity and decision were effectual to repress them. The stern sobriety, or solemn religious fervour of that officer's own regiments; their familiar association of the bible and the sword; their steady use of the one, and their licentious handling of the other, became the common pattern for the regenerated forces of the parliament. Each man could contend, in discourse, for his own views in religion; every one was ready to conquer or die, in battle, for the common cause. Still, the utmost skill and vigilance could not altogether prevent the weakness and uncertainty incident to such a military revolution as the New Model. But the king was himself in no condition to take advantage of the unprepared state of his adversaries.

The significant omission which has been noticed, in the list of officers, was well understood by the parties. Fairfax, the parliament—above all, Cromwell himself, knew perfectly, that he who was the originator and life of this great plan, was not to be excluded from the advantages of its practical operation. Or, if from any one of them the real object was concealed, it was assuredly not from the astute Cromwell, but the confiding Fairfax. From the day when the ordinance for the New Model passed the House of Commons, Cromwell was no longer to be seen within its walls. The termination of the prescribed period of forty days approached, but the lieutenant-general appeared not, with the other officers who sat in the parliament, to deliver up his commission. The public service, it was hinted, demanded his absence; it was allowed for a second period of forty days. Orders were then issued by the parliament (but never designed to be obeyed) that he should attend in his place, and that the new general should appoint some other officer to his command. Fairfax replied by a humble request, "that they would give lieutenant-general Cromwell leave to stay with him some few days longer, for his better information, without which he should not be able to perform what they expected from him." The petition was too reasonable to be denied. At length, when nearly another month had elapsed, the following letter was read in the Commons from Sir Thomas Fairfax, and divers of the chief officers of his army: "Upon serious consideration how the horse of this army may be managed to the best advantage of the public, which are at present

without any general officer to command them, though as considerable a body as any you have had since the beginning of these unhappy troubles; we have taken the boldness, humbly to desire that this house would be pleased to appoint lieutenant-general Cromwell to this service, while this honourable house shall think fit to spare him from his attendance in parliament. The general esteem and affection which he hath both with the officers and soldiers of this whole army; his own personal worth and ability for the employment; his great care, diligence, courage, and faithfulness in the service you have already employed him [in], with the constant presence and blessing of God that have accompanied him, make us look upon it as the duty we owe to you and the public, to make it our humble and earnest suit (if it may seem good to you), to appoint him unto this employment, which shall be received by us with that thankfulness and acknowledgment of your favour, which may best express how sensible we are of so great an obligation, and how much devoted to your and the kingdom's service." On this it was resolved, that Sir Thomas Fairfax be desired, if he thinks fit, "to appoint lieutenant-general Cromwell to command the horse, as lieutenant-general, during such time as this house shall please to dispense with his attendance." Of course, notwithstanding some subsequent renewals of the dispensation, by way of blind, there was an end of the matter: and, as Clarendon remarks, "from this time Cromwell absolutely governed the whole martial affairs" of the parliament.

His first exploit after the passing of the celebrated

ordinance, was performed at Islip-bridge, near Oxford. Having received orders to intercept a party of horse, (consisting of the queen's and two other regiments, under the command of the Earl of Northampton,) marching to join the king at Oxford, he put himself at the head of some of his choice troops; attacked and routed them; took two hundred prisoners, and got possession of her majesty's standard. From Islip he marched to Blechingdon Place, then a fortified post under the command of Colonel Windebank. The house happened to contain a party of ladies, on a visit to the colonel's wife, at the moment when the dreaded "Invincibles" made their appearance; and Windebank, softened by the sight of female terrors, agreed, at Cromwell's summons, to a surrender. His weakness cost him his life. The indignant king ordered him to be tried at Oxford by a court-martial, in pursuance of whose sentence he was shot in the Castle-yard. In a subsequent encounter, however, with Goring, an officer of bravery equal to his own, though in conduct grievously inferior, Cromwell received a severe reverse—the only one which befell him during the war. The occasion was this:—

By the surrender of Essex's army, and Charles's unobstructed march back to Newbury, the interest of the parliament in the western counties suffered greatly. Cornwall became wholly the king's. In Devonshire they held only Plymouth itself in a state of siege. In Dorsetshire, Poole was theirs, and Lyme. Of Weymouth, a place of more importance, one moiety, as was before intimated, comprising the forts and the upper

town, had been taken possession of by the king's troops, under the command of Sir Walter Hastings, governor of Portland; but it was lost again by Goring. That brave, but desultory and dissatisfied officer, was engaged in an intrigue, with the double object of being removed as far as possible from Rupert, with whom he was in continual strife, and of obtaining the general command of the west, under the Prince of Wales. With this design, he procured the king's order to proceed with a strong force to complete the occupation of Weymouth, and then to prevent the relief of Taunton, the only vestige of the parliament's power in Somersetshire, which the royalists were vigorously besieging, while the enemy were as anxiously exerting themselves for its relief. Goring failed on both points; the siege of Taunton having been raised while he lingered idly in Wiltshire, and Weymouth, through his treachery, or negligence, being "retaken by that contemptible number of the rebels, who had been beaten at the lower town, and who were looked upon as prisoners at mercy." These failures the king's general of cavalry in some degree balanced by two brilliant and successful attacks, both in one week, on the quarters of Waller, whose period of service had not yet expired. But the king, having by this time completed such other preparations as he was able to make for the field, sent orders to Rupert, then at Worcester, to rejoin him with his forces, and, at the same time, recalled Goring also with the cavalry to Oxford. Goring obeyed; with no good will, but with his accustomed celerity of movement. In this march it was that he

fell unexpectedly upon a party of Cromwell's horse, as, late in the evening, they were in the act of passing the Isis at Woodstock. The attack was instant, and admirably executed. Cromwell's powerful squadrons were thrown into confusion, and defeated with great slaughter; and, on the following day, May 7th, the king and Rupert marched out of Oxford, cheered by presages of victory, destined to signal disappointment.

At the place of rendezvous appointed for the royalist forces, on the borders of Gloucestershire, the king's army mustered 5000 foot and 6000 horse. The general opinion of Charles's officers was, that with this force he ought to follow Fairfax, who had previously marched westward for the purpose of raising the siege of Taunton; and prevent the accomplishment of that object by forcing him to fight, before Cromwell, whom he had left to follow, could come up to his support. But Rupert, who had a plan of his own, overruled this advice. Still smarting from his defeat at Marston Moor, the prince no sooner found himself in a condition to be revenged on the Scots, to whom chiefly he ascribed the loss of that famous battle, than his hot impetuous temper scorned to brook delay. Goring, therefore, was ordered back to Taunton, with 3000 of his horse, the most efficient corps in the king's service, to join with Sir Richard Grenvil and renew the siege; while the main army, thus formidably reduced in strength, proceeded in a northerly direction. At Tutbury Castle, intelligence was brought to the king, that, on his majesty's departure being known, Fairfax had detached a party to the relief of Taunton,

and had himself marched back and sat down before Oxford. Charles now returned also, intending to dispose his army in such a manner, that, if there should be occasion, he might advance to the immediate relief of that city; in the interval, he resolved to attempt the recovery of Leicester, then held by a strong rebel garrison. It was the evening of May 30th when the royalists drew up before the town: the next morning a battery was constructed, a breach opened, and within a few hours the place stormed, and taken at the sword's point. The garrison made a gallant defence, covering the breach with the bodies of their assailants, of whom above two hundred officers and men perished; but in the end were all made prisoners, and the place given up to those atrocities which commonly attend the sudden storm and capture of a town. No distinction was made of royalist from republican, though the king had many loyal subjects within the walls; nor were even the churches or hospitals exempted from the general pillage. The perpetration of these acts of violence is attributed, chiefly, to the northern regiments brought down by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Leicester, however, presents but one among many instances which show that the cavaliers, and the royalist soldiers generally, assumed, after the adoption of the New Model, a greater height of licentiousness; as if in scornful contrast with their enemies, who affected to regard themselves as the soldiers of God, and to observe a severity of discipline, as well as a gravity of demeanour, consistent with that lofty claim.

But all the advantages of this victory were fatally

thrown away. The king quickly repaired the fortifications of Leicester; but, instead of remaining in this post till he had been reinforced, either by General Gerrard, who had orders to advance for that purpose, from Worcester, with his corps of 3000 men; by Goring's return from his western expedition; or, at the least, till he had supplied by some more immediate means the loss sustained in the late assault, and replaced the troops required for garrisoning the works, he was persuaded, after a repose of only five days, to resume his march towards Oxford, at the head of an army wholly "insufficient to fight a battle for the crown." On the evening of the first day, he learned that Fairfax had already retired. The general of the parliament had been reminded by his masters, that "the policy resolved on at the constitution of the new model, and openly declared by Cromwell, was, to strike at the king, and keep him constantly in pursuit." And now it was, that he solicited from the House of Commons the appointment of that indispensable officer to the post of lieutenant-general. On receiving their favourable reply, he forwarded the commission to Cromwell, then in the associated eastern counties, with an earnest request that he would join him without delay. The summons was by no means unexpected;—within two days, that faithful colleague and stimulating adviser was at his side. At nightfall of the same evening an alarm ran through the royal camp, that an outpost had been forced, and the sentinels slain or carried off, by a party of the enemy's horse. This was the exploit of Ireton, whom Fairfax had sent out to recon-

noitre the king's position: he himself, with Cromwell, was quartered six miles off, at Northampton. At this unlooked-for announcement, the king instantly assembled a council of war. In the morning he had yielded to the forcible suggestions of prudence, and had marched northward in order to strengthen himself by reinforcements before risking an engagement: it was now resolved, on the instant, with that rash, impetuous gallantry which characterized the royalist officers whenever the enemy was at hand, not only to risk, but to advance and offer battle.

Accordingly, at break of day (the fatal 14th of June, 1645) the royal army was drawn up on a rising ground about a mile south from Harborough; a position affording every requisite advantage. The main body of the infantry, numbering about 2500 men, was led by the king in person, and under him by the lord Ashley; the right wing, of horse, amounting to 2000, was led by Prince Rupert; the left wing, consisting of cavalry from the northern counties, with some detachments from Newark, in all not exceeding 1600, was entrusted to Sir Marmaduke Langdale. In the reserve, which altogether might be about 1300 strong, were the king's life-guards commanded by the Earl of Lindsey, Prince Rupert's regiment of foot, and the royal horse-guards under Lord Bernard Stuart, lately created Earl of Lichfield. In this order the army had already been standing for some time, in expectation of the enemy, when, no sign appearing of their approach, the king began to doubt the correctness of the last night's intelligence. Reports brought in by the scouts threw no certain light on

Fairfax's designs. "They are retreating before us," was now whispered along the ranks. Urged by his customary impatience, Prince Rupert galloped forward a distance of about two miles, to ascertain the truth, and then sent word that it was true the enemy seemed about to turn their backs, and that a rapid movement of the royalists onward to the attack would have the effect of at once dispersing them. The word was given to advance; the king put his army in motion; and, relinquishing the favourable ground they had occupied, led forward his columns into the plain, a fallow field about a mile in breadth, which lay between Harborough and the village of Naseby. Along the crest of a gentle eminence, terminating this open space towards Naseby, lay the army of the parliament. Here the infantry had sat down, with their arms in their hands, composedly waiting the conflict; while Cromwell, availing himself of the leisure and opportunity afforded him by the march of the royal forces in the plain below, was ordering some movements of cavalry on the wings. It was the indistinct and broken view he obtained of these movements, which deceived the prince into the opinion that Fairfax was retiring. In the centre of this enthusiastic host, Fairfax and Skippon commanded; on the right wing, Cromwell; the left was given in charge to Ireton, on whom the general had, upon the field, conferred the rank of commissary-general. The word was, on either side, characteristic; that of the cavaliers being "Queen Mary" (Henrietta Maria); that of the parliamentarians, "God our strength." Such had been the arrangements, deliberate

and complete on the republican side, but disordered and imperfect on the king's,—for "the army was engaged before the cannon was turned, or the ground chosen by the royalists,"—when, at ten o'clock, that decisive and disastrous fight began.

It began with shouts of alacrity and delight from the combatants on both sides; for, on both, an impression prevailed among them, that they were on "the edge" of a battle which was at length to decide the destinies of their common country. The first charge was, as usual, given by Rupert. The movement was performed with a force and impetuosity, against which Ireton, with all his bravery and steadiness, found himself utterly unable to stand. His division was broken by the shock, and the commander himself, transfixed with two severe wounds, and having his horse killed under him, was taken prisoner; but, in the confusion of the melée, afterwards escaped to his party. The prince, regardless, according to his custom, of the fate of the main body of the army in which he commanded, pursued the scattered fugitives, drove them through their astonished reserves, made himself master, for a time, of some of their guns, and never thought of recalling his jaded horsemen until they had themselves fallen into irrecoverable disorder.

While this was going on, the royal centre advanced, at a quick pace, up the hill, where the van of the parliamentarians gave way before their onset, and fell back upon the rear. Old Skippon, to whom, in the scarcity of experienced officers, fell a disproportionate share of the danger and exertion of the day, was, at

the beginning of the conflict, sharply wounded in the side; "the brave old man" refused however, when entreated, to quit the field, exclaiming "that he would not stir so long as a man would stand" by him. Fairfax now advanced to his support; and, animated by the personal activity and daring of the general, the fight in the centre was more equally maintained. At every point of the field he was to be seen, rallying his broken ranks, cheering on the discouraged, and, by his dauntless example, inflaming to a higher pitch the valour of the boldest. As he thus hurried through the thickest of the fray, his helmet was struck off; but he continued to ride about bareheaded; and in this state coming up with his body-guard, their commander, Colonel Charles D'Oyley, remonstrated with him on exposing a life so valuable to such hazard, at the same time respectfully offering him his own helmet. "It is well enough, Charles," said Fairfax, refusing it, and again galloped on.

But now Cromwell, with equal execution, but far different result, was performing, on the parliamentarians' right wing, an exploit similar to that which Rupert had fruitlessly accomplished on the right of the royalists. On the royal left, Langdale, at the head of his northern and Newark horse, charged after the example of Prince Rupert, encountering the whole strength of Cromwell's regiments, now augmented by some troops of Ireton's corps, whom their officers had succeeded in rallying, and bringing up a second time. The attack, less energetically conducted than was the wont of those hardy northerns, on account of the disadvantage of

the ground, which obliged them to advance up hill, was endured without flinching by Cromwell's massy and more numerous bands of Ironsides. The republican hero now in turn became the assailant. Charging them at once in front and flank, first with a heavy fire of carbines, then at the sword's point, he routed the whole body, and drove them down the hill. Seven squadrons were under his command, and never soldiers more steadily and cheerfully obeyed their leader. Four he ordered to continue the pursuit, and prevent the broken royalists rallying; with the other three he wheeled rapidly round to the centre, where the infantry had been long fiercely engaged, on both sides alternately retreating and rallying, but with a preponderating disadvantage on the side of the parliamentarians, which did not escape the anxious observation of Cromwell. By this movement was the victory secured. The king's battalions, already harassed with the doubtful struggle, wavered, gave way, and finding themselves surrounded by the enemy, and deserted by their own cavalry, successively threw down their arms, and fled, or yielded themselves prisoners. One regiment only stood its ground, unmoved as a rock, amid the broken surges of the battle. Fairfax, again addressing his colonel of the guard, demanded, whether that regiment had been charged? "Twice," D'Oyley replied; "but they moved not an inch." Fairfax then, directing the officer to make a third charge in front, himself attacked them simultaneously in the rear; and the devoted band being cut through in all directions, the two met in the centre of the ground

they had just before occupied; Fairfax bearing in his hand the colours which he had seized, after slaying the ensign, and now gave to a trooper to hold. By and by the soldier began to boast that it was he who had seized those colours; and when the circumstance was reported to Fairfax, he forbade the public exposure of the vainglorious falsehood, saying, "Let him have the honour; I have enough beside."

Ever among the most intrepid in battle, the king excelled himself by his admirable conduct on this fatal day. Again and again he rallied his broken columns, riding from regiment to regiment, and encouraging the men with voice and gesture. In the midst of these efforts, perceiving the defeat of his left wing, he had already given the word, and was on the point of charging with his guards into the midst of Cromwell's triumphant squadrons, "when the Earl of Carneworth, a Scottish nobleman, who chanced to ride next to him, cried out, with two or three full-mouthed Scottish oaths: 'What, Sir, would you rush upon instant death?' and, at the same moment, seizing the bridle of Charles's horse, turned him round," before the king understood what it was he meant. By this unhappy interference of well-intentioned loyalty, all was lost. Imagining that the command had been given to retreat, the whole regiment turned, and rode upon the spur the distance of a quarter of a mile. The mistake was then discovered, and the word to "stand," arrested them, but too late to restore order in their ranks. Some few galloped back to the king, whom they found with his staff still in the midst of the field, where Rupert had now joined

him, with large numbers of the victorious but disordered right wing. Vain however was every effort to induce them again to form and renew the contest. They had done their part: the victory they had won, others had thrown away. "One charge more, friends," exclaimed the king, "and we recover the day!" It availed not; and Charles and Rupert, with the brave cavaliers that surrounded him, fought their way out of that fatal field, where, as Clarendon mournfully says, "the king and the kingdom were both lost." The defeated sovereign left in the hands of the victor 5,000 prisoners; all his artillery; 9,000 stand of arms; the royal standard, with a hundred stand of colours besides; his private carriages and baggage, with the cabinet containing his correspondence with the queen; jewels, gold,—in short, every thing that could enrich the conquerors, glut their desire of vengeance, and stamp the victory as complete. That night the fugitives passed through Leicester, followed to the walls by the horse of the parliamentarians, and next day by their infantry.

Respecting the numbers slain in this decisive battle, the accounts differ, but all make them under 2,000; a result less sanguinary than might have been expected from the numbers engaged, and the determined character of the contest. As usual in the king's battles, the proportion of officers killed was excessive; those gallant and loyal cavaliers choosing rather to fall where they stood, than to submit or fly, and the common soldiers being frequently raw recruits, little hearty in the cause. While not more than ten officers or gentlemen of quality surrendered, above one hundred

and fifty lay dead upon the spot, whose memories, says Clarendon, ought to be preserved. On the parliament's side an unpardonable enormity was committed in the pursuit. A hundred women, some of them the wives of officers of distinction, were cut to pieces, or miserably wounded, under pretence that they were Irish. Whether the benefit of this excuse, such as it is, really belongs to the fanatical soldiers who perpetrated that deed of cruelty, or not, cannot be ascertained; but we have already seen, with what savage ferocity the natives of Ireland were treated by the parliament and their military commanders.

A more serious blow to the king's cause, than even the loss of so many of his devoted subjects, was the use made by his enemies of the mass of secret papers which came into their possession with the spoil of Naseby; a "barbarous use," it is not unnaturally styled by Clarendon. On the other hand, "to conceal those evidences" would, they themselves asserted, have been "a great sin against the mercies of God." But the calmer, though not unbiassed historian of our own times, has justly said, that "if their contents were of a nature to justify the conduct of the parliament, one sees not on what ground it could be expected that they should be suppressed." Respecting the publication, Charles himself never complained; the charge of forgery, advanced by some over zealous loyalists, he himself silenced by a candid admission of the genuineness of those portions of the papers which were produced; but he also maintained that others, which would have served to explain ambiguous points, were designedly kept back. Twenty-

two additional papers were actually added by the Lords to the selection which the Commons sent up to them in the first instance, after the whole mass, with the other contents of the king's cabinet, had already been many days in their hands, and in those of their officers. As to the unfair, and even false light, in which the whole were exhibited in print to the coarse and prejudiced eyes of the multitude, it would have been idle to complain.

The charges against the king, that have been founded on these celebrated documents, are of two classes: such as affect his general character for veracity; those which refer to the nature of the facts disclosed. The former, for obvious reasons, have, in modern times, been chiefly insisted on by the king's enemies. That they should have been so insisted on, without the smallest allowance,—nay, with vehement invective and rancorous abuse,—proves, at least, the deathless interest taken by passion and prejudice, as well as reason, in those portions of our country's history, which, beyond others, involve great moral questions. As Englishmen of the nineteenth century, we need not blush to range ourselves on either side in that majestic controversy of opinion, by which the realm was torn and desolated in the seventeenth century; but, assuredly, powers of countenance quite marvellous must have been at the command of men, who could come forward with a solemn charge of falsehood against their sovereign for having occasional recourse to the arts of policy and subterfuge, in order to maintain himself in a position of unexampled difficulty and hardship, while the entire

system of their own policy was mendacious; while they slew the king's loyal subjects in his name; struck at his own life, and had raised up, for their glory, though ultimately for their scourge, the most renowned of hypocrites. Among the particular facts alleged, a favourite ground of contemptuous accusation is Charles's imputed subserviency to the counsels of his queen. Had this existed, even to the degree of an unbecoming uxoriousness, one might have looked for more toleration of such a foible on the part of those very strict asserters of christian purity; and the singular spectacle of a king who could affirm (not on his death-bed, for a death-bed he was not allowed, but in the immediate view of death), that he had never been unfaithful, in deed or thought, to his marriage vows, might have expected to conciliate respect. But the charge is, in a great degree, unfounded. The king had few sincere or judicious advisers; and when he endeavoured to supply the want by accepting the suggestions of Henrietta, it was generally on subjects, respecting which it seems natural that a wife, in such circumstances, should be allowed to be heard: such were the appointments in the prince's household; the care of the king's personal safety; sufficient stipulations, in treating for peace, "in favour of those who have served you, as well the bishops as the poor catholics." In a country, the constitution and laws of which admit, while the people warmly welcome, the accession of a woman to the entire responsibility of the regal office, this loud outcry against interference so moderate as that of the queen of Charles I. in the affairs of government, sounds more like the clamour of

faction than the voice of reason. Advice like the following, from whatever quarter it might come, could hardly be unworthy of the king's attention: "I have nothing to say, but that you have a care of your honour; and that if you have a peace, it may be such as may hold; and if it fall out otherwise, that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need. Also, I do not see how you can be in safety, without a regiment of guards. In my opinion, religion should be the last thing upon which you should treat [viz. at Uxbridge]. For if you do agree upon strictness against the catholics, it would discourage them to serve you; and, if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours, either from Ireland or any other catholic prince; for they would believe you would abandon them, after you had served yourself." The employment of papists in his army, a grievance much dwelt upon by his adversaries, has been pronounced, even by an unfriendly judgment, to be among those "things for which no one can rationally blame Charles;" an exculpation, which might as properly have been extended to the introduction of his Irish subjects, or even of foreign mercenaries, into the royal service. The only point, in all this published correspondence, which Charles appears to have been himself solicitous to clear up, and one which, strange to say, the friends of the rebel party still continue to allege, is that regarding the use of disrespectful terms in characterizing his parliament assembled at Oxford: on this point the king's defence has been already quoted.

Cromwell, who had returned to Harborough after pursuing the king, wrote thence the same night to the Speaker of the House of Commons an account of the victory. In the despatching of his letter, as in all things else, he took care to have the precedence of the general. It is blunt and brief, and evidently designed to inspire his party in the parliament with that exultation, and that contempt of their political enemies, which he himself so strongly felt. "Honest men served you faithfully in this action, Sir; they are trusty: I beseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them . . . . . He that ventures life for the liberty of his country, I wish to trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for." On the 17th, the day following the receipt of Fairfax's despatches, containing the official news of the victory, both houses were sumptuously feasted by the City of London at Grocer's-hall; and before taking leave in the evening, sang the forty-sixth psalm; in the version, probably, of the Kirk of Scotland. The convoy of the prisoners, standards, guns, carriages, and such other portions of the rich booty as had escaped the hands of the soldiers, was entrusted to Colonel John Fiennes, who was ordered to march with them through the city to Westminster. Arrived at the door of the Commons' house, he was called in, and there, in the midst of the triumph of the promoters of the new model, and the astonishment of the disconcerted presbyterians, delivered "a particular narration of the fight." The standards were ordered to be hung up in Westminster Hall; and the prisoners being mustered

in the Artillery-ground, near Tothill-fields, such of them as gave satisfactory pledges to the committee appointed to examine them, that they would henceforth be the faithful slaves of the parliament, were set at large; but much the greater number "were shipped off to serve in foreign parts upon conditions;" a mode of disposing of "malignants" well understood and largely practised by the patrons of the new "liberty of the subject."

CHAPTER VI.

DECLINE OF THE FIRST WAR.

WHAT supported the king under the calamitous consequences of the defeat at Naseby, will be best understood from the insertion in this place of an extract from that eloquent letter to Prince Rupert, which Clarendon has described as "containing so lively an expression of his very soul, that no pen else could have written it." The date of this emphatic production is indeed several weeks later than the point of time which we have now reached, namely, the beginning of August, 1645, when Charles's position had become considerably worse; it nevertheless presents a correct transcript of his sentiments and resolves while under the immediate effect of that great blow, and may indeed be regarded as the key to his future public acts. "As for the opinion of my business, and your council thereupon, if I had any other quarrel but the defence of my religion, crown, and friends, you had full reason for your advice. For I confess, that speaking either as a mere soldier or statesman, I must say, there is no probability but of my ruin; but as a Christian, I must tell you, that God will not suffer rebels to prosper, or his cause to be overthrown; and whatsoever personal punishment it shall please him to inflict upon

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me must not make me repine, much less to give over this quarrel, which, by the grace of God, I am resolved against, whatsoever it cost me: for I know my obligations to be, both in conscience and honour, neither to abandon God's cause, injure my successors, nor forsake my friends. Indeed, I cannot flatter myself with expectation of good success, more than this, to end my days with honour and a good conscience; which obliges me to continue my endeavour, as not despairing that God may in due time avenge his own cause. Though I must avow to all my friends, that he that will stay with me at this time must expect, and resolve, either to die for a good cause, or, which is worse, to live as miserable in the maintaining it, as the violence of insulting rebels can make him. Having thus truly and impartially stated my case unto you, and plainly told you my positive resolutions, which, by the grace of God, I will not alter, they being neither lightly nor suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire you not in any ways to hearken after treaties; assuring you, as low as I am, I will not go less than what was offered in my name at Uxbridge; confessing that it were as great a miracle that they should agree to so much reason, as that I should be, within a month, in the same condition that I was immediately before the battle of Naseby. Therefore, for God's sake, let us not flatter ourselves with these conceits."

The reader will have collected, from the tenor of this noble letter, that Rupert was infected with that eager desire of peace, which, after the loss of Naseby, pervaded the minds of the king's friends generally, and

gave rise to combinations and cabals among the military officers, local commissioners, and others, to obtain it at whatever cost. In fact, the prince was weary of the duties of field, and still more so of that increasing want of success to which no one had contributed so largely as himself. Incapable of self-control, the outward restraints of discipline were intolerable to him, and the nobler restraints of a magnanimous sense of duty he was unable to appreciate. This reckless and insubordinate temper of their chief prevailed extensively among the cavaliers. Sir Richard Grenvil, who was still possessed of a powerful command in Cornwall and Devonshire, had rendered his own name odious, and discredited the cause of which he was in some respects an able supporter, by an oppressive and presumptuous use of his authority. The conduct of Goring, who affected a kind of military dictatorship in the west, was still more injurious to the king, in consequence of that officer's superior abilities, more popular manners, and more considerable charge. By his insolence, violence, and rapacity, it was he who first gave occasion to extensive associations of clubmen; and afterwards, through his supine negligence, connived at their excesses. To those faults, which were calculated to occasion general disgust, was added a degree of moral profligacy and profaneness in conversation which justly offended pious persons. It was, in short, the state of lawlessness and disaffection to which, from being originally the most loyal division of England, the western counties had been brought by the license indulged in by Rupert and Maurice, Grenvil and

Goring, which seems to have determined the king, when flying before Cromwell's victorious squadrons, instead of adopting the more obvious plan of uniting the scattered remains of his late army with the corps under the command of the two latter, to march at once into Wales, with the unpromising design of attempting to raise fresh forces beyond the Severn.

At Hereford, Prince Rupert separated from the king, to attend to the security of his garrison at Bristol, while Charles proceeded through Abergavenny to Ragland Castle, then a splendid baronial residence, which its owner, the Marquis of Worcester, had strongly fortified and garrisoned. Here while waiting the issue of such directions as he had given to the local authorities for levying troops, the king passed three weeks with his learned and loyal host, in pursuits apparently so little suited to the exigencies of the time, as to draw forth bitter animadversion from his military historian: "As if," exclaims the secretary at war, "the genius of that place had conspired with our fates, we were there all lulled asleep with sports and entertainments; as though no crown had been at stake, or in danger to be lost." The king, however, was constantly engaged in negotiating with those parties who were, or pretended to be, at work to raise levies for a new army; he likewise inspected all the neighbouring garrisons, including Cardiff, where Colonel Tyrrel, son-in-law of Archbishop Usher, had the command, and whither the venerable primate had retired for security.

In the midst of these occupations, the king was startled by calamitous intelligence from the seat of

active warfare. Fairfax and Cromwell had retaken Leicester, two days after Charles's march through it; had encountered and defeated Goring at Langport, whither he had retired before the parliamentarians from the siege of Taunton; and had subsequently advanced against Bridgwater. At the same time, the Scots, having after a tedious siege reduced Carlisle, advanced to Worcester, and, presently after, as far as Hereford, to which they laid siege. To add to the king's embarrassment, the disaffection of the Welsh was now found to be so complete, as not only to put an end to all hope of raising levies in Wales, but even to countenance the current rumours that a plot was in agitation among them to seize the king's person, and deliver him up to the parliament. To join Goring and Rupert beyond the Severn, in the face of two armies, was not practicable: the only other direction which offered safety was towards the north. Charles consequently resolved to attempt the accomplishment of a purpose which, for some time, had dwelt in glowing colours on his fancy. He proposed by a rapid march to penetrate into Scotland, and effect a junction with Montrose, whose romantic career of victory was still proceeding unchecked. Having been joined by the Gordons, and other clans, that brilliant adventurer had added to the list of his achievements, in May, the defeat of Hurry, and on the 2nd of July, that of Bayley; who had been sent out, each at the head of a separate army, to suppress him.

The king's march northward was over the mountains, by Brecknock and Radnor, to Ludlow. At Welbeck, a garrisoned house belonging to the Marquis of New-

castle, he was met by the cavaliers of Lincoln and Nottingham, by Sir Richard Willis, governor of Newark, and by many gentlemen from Pomfret Castle, which had lately surrendered to the rebels; in pursuance of whose advice, measures were taken to raise in that vicinity some regiments of infantry for the royal service. A second and enlarged commission was at the same time forwarded to Montrose, with orders to conduct his forces to the border to co-operate with Charles's army. But this plan likewise was doomed to frustration. The Scottish Committee of Estates, alarmed at the successes of Montrose, had sent for assistance from the Earl of Leven's army before Hereford. That commander instantly despatched Lesley to their aid, with the greater part of his cavalry. Charles was lying at Doncaster when intelligence reached him of this unexpected movement. After a long day's march, Lesley had halted his tired soldiers for the night at Rotheram, about ten miles distant, in ignorance of the king's proximity, and by no means in a condition to resist an attack. Meanwhile the intelligence brought to the king imported, that the purpose of the Scots was to intercept the royal party, and that their own comprised the whole strength of the Scottish horse. Charles had before learned, that Pointz and Rossiter, two of the parliament's colonels, each in command of a numerous corps of cavalry, were drawing towards him with the same view. Persuaded that these combined impediments to his advance were insuperable, he relinquished his favourite design; fell back to Newark; and thence traversing the associated counties, where he had some

smart and successful skirmishing with parties of the enemy, re-entered Oxford on the 29th of August, his steps having been tracked all the way, at a distance, by Pointz.

Bridgwater, though one of the strongest fortifications in England, did not impede the victorious progress of Fairfax's army. It was carried by storm in two days. A fortnight later Sherborne Castle was won in the same manner. Cromwell next marched against the club-men, who had assembled, to the number of several thousands, near Shaftesbury: they were obstinate in their resistance, but, after two or three hundred of their number had fallen beneath the swords of the "Invincibles," the rest quickly dispersed. The siege of Bristol followed. Rupert occupied that city with scarcely less than 5000 horse and foot; it was well stored with provisions; and he had promised the king to hold it against all attempts, for four months at least. Nor could less have been expected from his courage and loyalty, on an occasion so important. Hardly had the army approached the lines, when Cromwell, impatient of delay, advised the general-in-chief to attempt Bristol also by storm. At midnight, on the 9th, the assault was made with great fury; when the assailants, having succeeded in getting possession of some of the principal works, and the town being set on fire in several places, the prince, impetuous in onset, but wholly deficient in the patient fortitude necessary for defensive warfare, presently agreed to a surrender. Charles's astonishment and indignation were extreme, on learning the fall of this important fortress, which included the loss of

a large proportion of his magazines and warlike stores. He instantly wrote his nephew a letter, full of cutting but dignified reproaches; he revoked all the prince's commissions; commanded him to quit the country, for which purpose he supplied him with a pass; and, to prevent any intrigue in his favour at Oxford, whither he had withdrawn, ordered Legge, the governor of that city, a warm partisan of Rupert's, to be put under arrest and deprived of his command. "Tell my son," said the king, in the postscript to his letter on this painful subject to Secretary Nicholas, "that I shall less grieve to hear that he is knocked on the head, than that he should do so mean an action as is the rendering of Bristol Castle and Fort, upon the terms it was." A few days, however, only elapsed ere the gentler affections, more natural to Charles's bosom, resumed their ascendency; and in pity to both his nephews (for, powerless as he now was, the dependence of both was wholly on himself), he wrote as follows to the younger.

"*Newtowne, 20th Sept.* 1645.

"NEPHEW,—What through want of time or unwillingness to speak to you of so unpleasant a subject, I have not yet (which now I must supply) spoken to you freely of your brother Rupert's present condition. The truth is, that his unhandsome quitting the castle and fort of Bristol hath enforced me to put him off those commands which he had in my army, and I have sent him a pass to go beyond the sea. Now, though I could do no

less than this; for which, believe me, I have too much reason upon strict examination; yet I assure you that I am most confident that this great error of his, which indeed hath given me more grief than any misfortune since this damnable rebellion, hath no way proceeded from his change of affection to me or my cause, but merely by having his judgment seduced; and I am resolved so little to forget his former services, that whenever it shall please God to enable me to look upon my friends like a king, he shall thank God for the pains he hath spent in my armies. So much for him, now for yourself. I know you to be so free from his present misfortune, that it no way staggers me in that good opinion which I have ever had of you; and so long as you shall not be weary of your employments under me, I will give you all the encouragement and contentment that lies in my power. However, you shall always find me

"Your loving uncle, and most assured friend,

"CHARLES R."

For the purpose of more completely securing the submission of the western counties, which would, in effect, comprize that of the whole kingdom, Cromwell now separated from the main army, and marched back to reduce those loyal garrisons in the south, which blocked up the communication with London. Devizes was the first place he summoned: "Win it and wear it," was the answer of the governor, Sir Charles Lloyd; but the gallantry of Sir Charles's language did not extend to his soldiership, for in less than two days he sur-

rendered. Berkeley and Winchester Castles were the next gems added to Cromwell's wreath of conquest. From Winchester the conqueror marched to Basing. So many sieges had been sustained, so many assaults repelled, by this stronghold of determined loyalty, that it had acquired, through all the land, the reputation of being impregnable. Cromwell carried it by storm, and sent its owner, the Marquis of Winchester, with two hundred inferior officers and soldiers taken in it, prisoners to the metropolis. "Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently!"—the frequent war-cry of the fanatics, both in the pulpit and in the field of battle,—was conspicuously heard amid the slaughter of those devoted royalists who fell at Basing. Of the like tenor was Cromwell's letter to the speaker, announcing the event. "God," he wrote, "exceedingly abounds in his goodness to us, and will not be weary until righteousness and peace meet, and that he hath brought forth a glorious work for the happiness of this poor kingdom." Turning then once more towards the west, Langford House, a post of the same description, near Salisbury, was surrendered to him. Near Exeter, he came up with Fairfax; who, having left a division of his army to invest that city, was advancing to encounter the royalists, then mustering their scattered strength in the heart of the county. Impatient of the general's slow progress, Cromwell dashed forward beyond the main army, attacked a royalist post near Ashburton, commanded by Lord Wentworth, and took four hundred horse, with several standards, one of which was the king's.

While victory every where attended the movements of the king's opponents, scarcely any efforts were made by those who called themselves his friends, to which rational judgments could attach the prospect of success. Devonshire and Cornwall still contained royalist troops in number sufficient to form an effective army; but many of them were discouraged by successive defeats, some in a state of mutiny, and all ill provided, and objects of hatred to the inhabitants, whose loyalty they had exhausted by oppression and insolent licence. Of the generals who surrounded Prince Charles, Hopton and Capel alone had virtue and conduct; the others, Goring, Grenvil, Wentworth, either appropriated or despised his authority; and, in proportion as misfortune crowded upon misfortune, became more deeply and inextricably involved in mutual jealousies and a common ambition. At length these selfish and pernicious dissensions being in some degree appeased by the sudden retirement of Goring into France, a force was drawn together under Lord Hopton deemed adequate to relieve Exeter, and check the victorious progress of Fairfax and Cromwell. The surrender of Dartmouth to the parliamentarian generals, proclaimed the futility of this opinion. Marching from thence with all their strength, they surprised Hopton at Torrington. The slight entrenchments of the royalists were easily forced; and the army, heartless, disaffected, and ill-officered, was utterly routed and dispersed at the first onset, leaving about five hundred of their number dead on the field. Hopton fought with all his accustomed gallantry, but having received a wound in the face, having had his horse

killed under him, and being deserted by nearly all his troops, he threw himself upon a fresh horse, and, followed by some broken squadrons of cavaliers, crossed the Tamar, and took refuge in Cornwall, into which remote county Prince Charles had previously retired.

The king had no sooner foreseen to what fatal period his affairs were tending, than he provided for the removal of the prince to the continent, the instant his longer stay in England should become inconsistent with safety. The defeat of Hopton brought on this crisis. At Truro, whither that brave and virtuous nobleman retreated, he found himself reduced to the last extremity; hemmed in by a powerful and victorious enemy, surrounded by disaffection in the people, and confronted by open mutiny among his few remaining troops. His officers attempted to force him to surrender; one only supporting him in a resolution to accept no terms from Fairfax, at least until he had the express command of the Prince of Wales, "from whom his forlorn charge had been delegated." They then resolved unanimously, if the general persisted in his refusal, to negotiate terms for themselves. From this time all show of discipline was abandoned; not a man mounted guard, or performed any military duty, but officers and privates alike mixed indiscriminately with those of Fairfax's army. The general, by great exertion, secured his military stores within the forts of Pendennis and St. Michael's Mount; and, once more protesting, that neither for himself, nor any of the garrisons, would he solicit or accept terms from the rebels, he followed

the prince to Scilly, where his royal highness had taken refuge on the entrance of Cromwell and Fairfax into Cornwall. The disorganized troops, left to themselves, submitted and were disbanded.

We left the king at Oxford. Two days had not elapsed before he was again at the head of his troops, leaving behind the Duke of Richmond, with many other noblemen and gentlemen, whom the late unfortunate campaign had wearied of an irksome service and a sinking cause. His present design was to avert from Oxford the miseries of a siege, and at the same time to avail himself of the efforts of his friends in the more loyal, counties. He directed his march, through Worcester, once more to Ragland, a spot endeared to him, not only by the security it afforded in his misfortunes, but as the abode of learning, of piety, and honour, which he so well knew how to prize.

This second visit of the king to the castle of Ragland, was signalized by a discussion between himself and his noble entertainer, the Marquess of Worcester, on the Romish controversy. The venerable marquess was a papist, ardent alike in attachment to his church, and in loyalty to his sovereign; and he devoutly believed that his royal master's misfortunes might have been averted by a timely return to the ancestral faith of the Stuarts. The conference was conducted, on both sides, with a degree of ability, erudition, and temper, seldom united; but with more of warmth and eloquence on the marquess's part, and more of coolness and judgment on the king's. Charles's share in it proves both his perfect mastery of the subject, and

(what is otherwise clear from accumulated proofs) his firm adherence to the reformed church of England; the marquess's well-ordered array of arguments making no impression, though urged with pathetic sincerity, and at a moment when his favourite opinion, that the king's ruin was only to be prevented by his relinquishment of protestantism, seemed shrewdly seconded by events. "My lord," observed Charles, "I cannot so much blame as pity your zeal; the soundness of religion is not to be tried by dint of sword, nor must we judge of her truths by the prosperity of events, for then of all men Christians would be the most miserable; we are not to be thought followers of Christ, or not, by observations drawn from what is prosperous, or otherwise, but by taking up our cross and following Christ."

The umpire in this interesting dispute was Dr. Bayley, subdean of Wales. The doctor himself published a report of the conference; and it would be difficult to name another publication, in which the questions in dispute are handled at once with so much discernment and liberality, so mildly but so convincingly. The following is Dr. Bayley's account of the conclusion of this remarkable incident in the king's life:—

"'I have one request more unto your majesty,' said the marquess; 'that you would make one prayer to God, to direct you in the right way, and that you would lay aside all prejudice and self-interest, and that you will not so much fear the subject, as the superior, who is over all; and then you cannot do amiss.' 'My lord,' replied the king, 'all this shall be done, by the grace of God.'"

"Whereupon," continues the doctor, "the marquess called upon us to help him, so that he might kneel; and being upon his knees, he desired to kiss his majesty's hand, which he did; saying, 'Sir, I have not a thought in my heart that tends not to the service of my God and you; and if I could have resisted the motion of his Spirit, I had desisted long ago; but I could not. Wherefore, on both my knees, I pray to his divine Majesty, that he will not be wanting to his own ordinance, but will direct your understanding to those things which may make you a happy king upon earth, and a saint in heaven.' And thereupon he fell a weeping, bidding to light his majesty to his chamber. As the king was going, he said to the marquess, 'My lord, it is great pity that you should be in the wrong.' Whereat the marquess replied, 'It is greater pity that you should not be in the right.' The king said, 'God direct us both.' The marquess answered, 'Amen, amen, I pray God.' Thus they both parted; 'and as I was lighting his majesty to his chamber, his majesty told me, that he did not think to have found the old man so ready at it; and that he believed he was a long time putting on his armour, yet it was hardly proof.' To which," concludes Bayley, "I made answer, that I believed his lordship had more reason to wonder how his majesty, so unprepared, could withstand the onset."

It was at this time that the king received the astounding intelligence of the loss of Bristol. He had been arranging his plans, during the late march from Oxford, in full confidence of success, for the relief of that loyal and important city: he now determined to attempt

raising the siege of Hereford. At Worcester he learned that Leven had already abandoned the works before Hereford, and begun his retreat; weary of a protracted and hopeless siege, and deprived of the greater part of his cavalry by Lesly's return to Scotland, he judged it prudent not to wait the king's approach. The next day Charles entered the city, welcomed by its inhabitants with acclamations, but a prey, under this gleam of success, to the most serious perplexities. The reports which he continued to receive from Scotland, turned his thoughts once more towards that division of his distracted realms. At Kilsyth, another victory had been obtained by Montrose over the Duke of Argyle; not more decisive than the victory of Inverlochy—that was impossible—but on a larger scale, and with more important results; the combined armies of the covenant having been completely defeated and destroyed in this engagement, and all Scotland recovered for the king. To attempt to join the victorious marquess would, however, be an undertaking full of difficulty and hazard. The north of England had every where submitted to the parliament; their infantry held its garrisons, their parties of cavalry swept the open country. Beyond the Tweed, Lesley, with his horse, was interposed.

While deliberating on these and other obstacles, Charles heard that Pointz, with the whole strength of the enemy's cavalry in the north, amounting to above 3,000 men, had posted himself in the way to Worcester, whither it would be his object, in the first instance, to proceed. To avoid the manifest hazard of

an engagement, the royalists manœuvred with the design of misleading their pursuers. But Pointz was faithful to his orders, constantly to keep near the king; and when, on the evening of the second day, the cavaliers expected to enter the town without interruption, they again beheld with surprise the vigilant foe planted in their path. They now transferred their design to Chester, which they hoped to reach by a circuitous route over the Welsh mountains; intending, thence, to make their way northward by Lancashire and Cumberland. The ensuing march of five days, through those rough, inhospitable regions, exposed the party to hardships and privations which the king, burdened as he was with the peculiar cares of his station, cheerfully shared with his harassed followers. The city of Chester had been regarded as beyond the probability of hostile attack; they found it in a state of alarm and consternation. A powerful body of troops, collected from the nearest rebel garrisons, had, just before, surprised and in part occupied the suburbs. Receiving this intelligence as he approached the town, Charles ordered Sir Marmaduke Langdale to cross the Dee eastward above Chester, while himself with the remainder of his force entered the town on the west; intending to dislodge the enemy by a simultaneous attack in front and rear. But before these movements could be executed, the indefatigable Pointz again made his appearance. He was immediately attacked by Langdale, and repulsed with loss. While this was passing, the besiegers issued from the works, joined the defeated corps, and thus enabled Pointz to rally

and renew the fight. Langdale's horse were now in turn overpowered, and sought shelter under the walls; where the royal guards, commanded by the Earl of Lichfield, stood drawn up to support them. Here the contest became fierce and general. Again the cavaliers drove back the republican leader, but Langdale's flying troopers, mingling with their ranks, began a degree of confusion, which the steady volleys of the rebel foot, who lined the surrounding lanes and hedges, completed. The king, who, from the walls of Chester, had witnessed the fluctuating progress of this last effort for the maintenance of the royal power, saw his gallant kinsman, the Earl of Lichfield, with many gentlemen besides, fall dead at his feet, and all that had hitherto survived of his broken remnant of a host, either taken prisoners, or driven in headlong rout and ruin from the field. Thenceforth the king's sword was a useless bauble, less significant than the george upon his breast.

The preservation of Chester was an object of great moment, no other port remaining open at which the expected reinforcements from Ireland could land. To allow himself, however, to be shut up in that remote spot, would have been to Charles a worse evil than its loss. He chose rather to retreat to Denbigh Castle, "one of the strongest and noblest places," writes his historiographer and companion, "I ever saw. The governor," the same authority continues, "was Mr. Salisbury, a gentleman of that county, who, under the cover of a countryman, had more experience, courage, and loyalty, than many that made far greater show." At Denbigh, after waiting some days for stragglers to

collect, the king was enabled to muster about 2400 cavaliers. Again, and with an intenser and more painful interest than ever, the question was to be agitated, whither the betrayed and discomfited sovereign should betake himself. To pursue the intended march northward, even had his present force sufficed for the undertaking, it were now too late.

It was impossible that Montrose, with such materials only as were in his power, could keep on foot a regular and efficient army. In a state so profoundly torn with factions, political and religious, it was almost equally difficult to renew the semblance of royal authority. He had, indeed, got possession of the capital, overrun the country in all directions, and was preparing, as the king's captain-general and deputy in Scotland, to assemble a parliament in Glasgow. At this crisis, the weapon with which he had obtained these astonishing successes, crumbled in his grasp. Of his highland followers, many had, as usual, retired to the mountains after the battle of Kilsyth; on the first hint of an advance to the border, the remainder followed their example; the Gordons likewise deserted the king's standard to follow petty feuds at home. Lesley was now at Berwick with 5000 or 6000 men, the flower of Scotland's cavalry, trained in the English war. While Montrose was yet undecided whether to obey the king's orders without delay, or to retreat northward till joined by reinforcements, Lesley, favoured by a dense fog, and by the negligence of Montrose's officers, succeeded in surprising the unprepared royalists. The action took

place at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, on the 18th day of September. The greater part of Montrose's infantry, consisting of raw lowland levies, fled at the first onset of Lesley's steel-clad troopers; the rest, after a brief but gallant resistance, laid down their arms on receiving a promise of quarter. Montrose himself, yielding to the persuasions of his officers, cut his way through the enemy, at the head of about one hundred and fifty noblemen and gentlemen, the whole of his cavalry. Some of the retreating party lost their way, and were seized by the country people, and given up to the victor; but the greater number, with the general, reached the highlands in safety, and there continued the war. Such of the unfortunate captives as were of eminent rank, were reserved to glut the vengeance of the covenanters on the scaffold. The common soldiers, being chiefly Irish, notwithstanding their conditional surrender, were penned up in a field, and there massacred in cold blood; the fanatical clergy who accompanied the army of the covenanters, proclaiming it an act of enormous impiety to spare those sanguinary foes, whom the God of battles had put in their power.

In England, therefore, it was necessary to seek an asylum; and Newark, one of the few strong places still held for the king, was finally selected. The vigilance of Pointz being for a moment diverted by his desire to get possession of Chester, the fugitive party were enabled to secure a day's advance. At Chirk, the king was joined by a party of Prince Rupert's cavalry from Bristol. At Bridgenorth, and again at Lichfield, he indulged a day's halt; but much of this melancholy

G. Cattermole. J.T. Willmore A.R.A.

Montrose's retreat to the Highlands

expedition is described, by one of his attendants, as leading them "through unknown ways and passages, with many dark and late marches." A more formidable evil to the king, than darkness, cold, or hunger, was the mortification of hearing, wherever he came, of some fresh disaster by the seizure of his remaining garrisons and military posts. Charles bore all, however, with a mixture of magnanimity and good humour which recalls to mind his illustrious predecessor, the Fifth Harry, when environed with nearly the like circumstances:

> "Upon his royal face there is no note
> How dread a peril hath enrounded him;
> Nor doth he dedicate one jot of colour
> Unto the weary and all-watched night:
> But freshly looks, and overbears attaint,
> With cheerful semblance and sweet majesty."

Some of the king's most serious perplexities were aggravated, if not caused, by a too modest preference of other men's views to the dictates of his own quick perception and clear judgment. The fact is alluded to by his noble historian, while referring to the preference given, on this occasion, to Newark over Worcester, which had been first chosen for the king's retirement. This was attributed to the influence of Lord Digby, by whose advice Charles was at this time chiefly guided. For it was Digby who had suggested the king's severity towards Prince Rupert, after the fall of Bristol; and Worcester was not only easy of access from Oxford, whence the prince was expected to come and expostulate with his uncle, before retiring to the continent,

but that garrison was under the command of Prince Maurice, who was said keenly to resent his brother's treatment. Hardly was Charles beginning to enjoy some degree of repose at Newark, when intelligence arrived that Rupert was already on his way, and had been joined by Maurice. Digby now sought to place himself beyond the reach of the storm, by persuading the king to move farther north, and even to renew his cherished design of penetrating into Scotland. In this last object he failed, in consequence of the arrival of a messenger with intelligence that Montrose had been forced to retreat into the highlands; but he obtained the same end, by getting himself placed at the head of a separate expedition. The design was suddenly broken to his officers by the king, at a rendezvous of the troops in Worksop Park. Although, he said, it was now too late for himself to march into Scotland, he nevertheless proposed that Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with the northern horse, should proceed thither to aid the struggling marquess. "Willingly, your majesty," interposed Langdale, prepared with his reply; "but on one condition. It is, that Lord Digby may command in chief, and myself under him." To the surprise of those not in the secret, Digby, a nobleman hitherto employed in none but civil affairs, frankly assented. A commission was drawn up on the spot, appointing the noble secretary general of all the forces already raised, or to be raised, for the king, north of Trent; and he immediately began his march, at the head of 1500 cavalry, and accompanied, besides Langdale, by the earls of Carneworth and Niddesdale, and other noblemen and gentlemen from Scotland and the north of England. The issue of this expedition,

the last sent out by Charles, will presently be told: we follow, for the moment, the personal fortunes of the king.

The next few days were among the most mortifying, though not the most calamitous, in the life of King Charles the First. They constituted part of that ambiguous, that tormenting period, at which those who are born to greatness, but doomed to misfortune, experience some of the worst evils of both, without enjoying the beneficial compensations of either. Already, the loss of power had marred his regal character in the view of the selfish and the base; but not yet had suffering hung its consecrating halo round that "discrowned head," nor had the contemplation of his kingly and Christian patience yet forced the world to pity those unexampled misfortunes, which

"Lent his life the dignity of woe."

At Belvoir Castle, Rupert received a command from the king to proceed no farther without his majesty's orders. Next day, however, the contumacious prince came to Newark, and was met, beyond the gates, by Sir Richard Willis the governor, by Lord Gerrard, and other officers and troops; an attention which the factious governor had never shown to the king himself. Accompanied by this escort, and by a numerous party of his own officers who had attended him from Oxford, he made his way into the presence, without any of the usual ceremonies, which hitherto had been punctually observed in that fugitive court, and roughly told the king

that he was come to justify his conduct. Charles replied coldly and evasively, conversed for a time with Prince Maurice, and, to avoid further discourse, retired for the night. The next day he invited the prince to make his defence, when the king declared himself satisfied that his nephew had not been guilty of treason, or disloyalty; but added, that he could not acquit him of indiscretion. Their mutual confidence was not, however, restored.

The king had resolved on an immediate return to Oxford. But, previously to his departure, he judged it essential to the security of Newark to remove from the office of governor, Sir Richard Willis, who was involved in continual disputes with the royal commissioners, and to appoint Lord Bellasis in his room. This design Charles privately intimated to Willis, in terms of earnest and affectionate regard; but, though coupled with the offer of the command of the life-guards, vacant by the death of the gallant Earl of Lichfield,—an office, says Clarendon, fit for any nobleman—the communication was received by Willis with undissembled displeasure. Rupert took up his friend's cause. As if the former intrusion had not sufficiently demonstrated into how great contempt the king's authority was fallen, the same parties, a second time, burst suddenly into the royal presence. Willis first spoke: The king, he said, had, by what he had before imparted to him, dishonoured him in the eyes of the whole garrison. Rupert followed, asserting, that the king had resolved to deprive Willis of his office, not for any fault, but because he was his friend; to which Lord Gerrard added, that it was all a plot of Digby's, whom he

would prove a traitor. Charles now rose in anger, and would have had Willis withdraw with him for more privacy, but he insolently replied—"No: I have received a public injury, and expect a public satisfaction." With one voice they then exclaimed, that, finding themselves no longer trusted, they desired to have passes to go beyond the seas. "Your passes," retorted the king, with concentrated indignation, "shall be granted you; with orders not only to leave my service, but never again to make use of the swords you wear." Intimidated by the unusual tones, gesture, and language of their sovereign, the intruders withdrew. Charles was presently surrounded by the loyal cavaliers and officers in the town, who called on him to punish this outbreak of insolent disaffection, as the only way to prevent a mutiny in the town; the prince's troops being already drawn up in the market-place, whither he and his party had likewise returned. The king then armed himself, mounted his horse, and, issuing orders to the guards to charge his nephew and his adherents, if necessary, repaired to the spot. Finding the party there drawn up, as had been reported to him, he advanced, sword in hand, before his officers, and addressing the prince, said: "Nephew! for what purpose are you thus in arms?" "To defend ourselves against our enemies," replied Rupert. "I command you," continued the king, "to march out immediately to Belvoir Castle, and there stay till your passes are sent you." The prince obeyed, and presently marched off his followers. Becoming afterwards more sensible of the impropriety of their behaviour, and finding that their commissions were really taken from them, these factious

cavaliers sent in a petition to the king, desiring, in terms indicative of some contrition, to be tried by a court-martial. "Having met," they observe, "to make our several grievances known, we find we have drawn upon us some misconstruction by the manner, by reason your majesty thought that appeared as a mutiny." The king remarked, that "he would not christen it, but it looked very like one." As to the demand of a court-martial, he could not, he said, submit his decisions to the judgment of any court. The prince, soon afterwards, made his submission, "acknowledging his errors;" and, though he had actually obtained passes also from the parliament to go beyond sea, he made no immediate use of them, but, in a little time, returned to the court and was entirely reconciled to the king. Charles, however, would not again permit Willis to come into his presence.

The king left Newark on the 3rd of November. At ten o'clock at night all the cavalry, comprising the remains of the life-guards, mixed with some broken squadrons of other regiments, in all about 500 men, mustered in the market-place. At eleven the king mounted, put himself at the head of his guards, in the centre of the cavalcade, and issued from the gates. As the royal party passed Belvoir Castle, the commandant, Sir Gervas Lucas, came noiselessly forth with his cavaliers, and attended the king till break of day. The line of march was beset with hostile garrisons; and from Burleigh, and from Rockingham, the enemy's horse hurried out in pursuit. In the evening, the tired fugitives indulged themselves with a few hours' rest, in an obscure village. Once more, by

ten o'clock, Charles was in the saddle; he passed through Daventry as the day broke; and, arriving before noon at Banbury, was met by his cavalry from Oxford, whom he had ordered there to attend him, and, under their escort, safely entered that city in the evening. "And so," writes his affectionate historian, "he finished the most tedious and grievous march that ever king was exercised in, having been almost in perpetual motion from the loss of the battle of Naseby to this hour, with such a variety of dismal accidents as must have broken the spirits of any man who had not been the most magnanimous person in the world."

CHAPTER VII.

GLAMORGAN—CLOSE OF THE FIRST WAR.

EVERYTHING which the king or his friends now attempted, was sure to bear upon it the fatal marks of a failing, or utterly fallen, cause. What indiscretion planned, rashness undertook; and both seemed to labour for no other end than to supply imbecility, or ill fortune, with occasions to complete the work of ruin.

At Doncaster, Lord Digby surprised and routed a party of about 1000 foot, lately raised in that neighbourhood for the parliament; but being himself attacked at Sherborne by Colonel Copley, who commanded a powerful detachment of the enemy's horse, he was, in turn, defeated, with the loss of a considerable number of his troops. A circumstance which greatly aggravated the calamitous result of this action, was the capture of Digby's cabinet of official correspondence; of which, as in the similar misfortune of the king at Naseby, the parliament hesitated not to take the most ungenerous advantage. Some of the papers taken related to Charles's negotiations with the Irish, and were peculiarly open to interpretations injurious to the royal character and interests. In no less than two subsequent instances, both in like manner connected with the affairs of Ireland, the

same indiscretion in exposing state documents to all the chances of war, was productive of similar prejudice to the king. About the middle of October, the titular archbishop of Tuam was killed near Sligo; when duplicates of the important negotiation then in progress were found on his person; and again, at the commencement of the following year, many letters and papers of moment, relating to the same transactions, came into the possession of the parliament, by means of the capture, at Padstow, of a vessel from Ireland. Digby rallied his dispersed followers at Skipton, and continued his march through Westmoreland and Cumberland, as far as Dumfries. Unable there to obtain intelligence of Montrose, and equally unable, if he returned, to elude the vigilance of the Scottish army, he disbanded his troops near Carlisle, and transported himself and his officers to the Isle of Man: there, the fugitives were hospitably entertained by the loyal Earl and heroic Countess of Derby, till they could cross over to Dublin. In Ireland a new and curious scene of this eventful drama was opened, in which Digby performed a conspicuous part.

That the king should be willing to receive aid from any quarter of his dominions, or from any class of his subjects, in the obstinate and unequal contest in which he was engaged, can surely be matter neither of surprise nor blame. The truce with the Roman catholic insurgents in Ireland, though the reason alleged for it, on the king's part, was want of means to continue the war, was in reality designed to enable him to recall the loyal part of his own troops, and to avail himself besides of the services of such of the rebel party as might be willing

to postpone their more immediate objects, and follow the royal standard in the English war. Very little, however, was gained to compensate for the odium which attached to that moderate and plausible measure. As the truce itself never took effect universally, the king dared not call home the bulk of his army; and the few troops belonging to either party who passed over into England were quickly scattered and destroyed. In the meantime the Irish demanded, as the conditions of peace and the price of their support, such concessions on the score of religion as neither the prejudices of his English subjects, nor his own conscience, would allow him to grant. Vague promises were abundantly at the king's command; but the insurgents knew their own strength and their sovereign's weakness; they had before them the example of the successful rebellion of the Scots for religious freedom; and they determined to accept nothing less than the legal establishment of equal privileges for themselves. Hitherto these negotiations had been carried on at Oxford, by means of deputies from Ireland: they were now transferred to the management of the Marquess of Ormond, at Dublin. For a time, the king's lieutenant was left to his own discretion, regarding the stipulations to be granted. He was unwearied in his labours to effect the object entrusted to him, and even endangered his personal safety by appearing in a conference at Kilkenny with the self-constituted supreme council of Ireland. Finding, however, that the obstinacy of the Irish, on the point of religion, was not to be overcome, and urged at the same time by his daily increasing difficulties, Charles expressly enlarged the powers of his

lieutenant. Ormond was authorised to stipulate for the present suspension of the penal laws against the Roman catholics, and for their abolition on the establishment of peace; or, if nothing less would suffice, to agree to their immediate repeal.

But the negotiation, even on these terms, not keeping pace with the necessities or the impatience of the king, another minister was to be chosen, of less prudence, or more unhesitating zeal. Such a negotiator was found in Lord Herbert of Ragland, son of the good old Marquess of Worcester, and himself afterwards possessor of that title; but better known in history as Earl of Glamorgan, a dignity conferred upon him with a view to his services in this negotiation. "Herbert felt the most devoted attachment to his sovereign. He had lived with him for twenty years in habits of intimacy; in conjunction with his father he had spent above £200,000 in support of the royal cause; and both had repeatedly and publicly avowed their determination to stand or fall with the throne." To his tried and sanguine devotion to his master's service, Glamorgan likewise added the valuable qualification of fitness on the score of religion; as himself a papist, he was likely to conciliate the goodwill of those with whom it would be his business to treat. Thus prepared, the earl cheerfully undertook to crown the services by which his family had already evinced their zeal in the cause of the crown, by proceeding to Ireland on a secret mission to the confederates. He was to demand an immediate aid of 10,000 men; in return for which he was to agree to such concessions, on the grand point of religious toleration, as

the king dared not through any public channel propose; and, in case of a disclosure before the success of the undertaking should have enabled Charles to disregard opinion, the chivalrous agent was willing to submit to all the consequences of a public disavowal of his acts, as far as might be necessary for the royal interests. The chief warrant with which Glamorgan was furnished, bears date Oxford, March 12th, 1645; and is of such an amplitude as strikingly demonstrates the king's confidence in the loyalty of his agent,—his strong conviction of the desperate state of his affairs, after the failure of the Uxbridge treaty, and the discovery of his enemies' intentions which then came to light,—and the excess of that sanguine temper, or that fondness for the perilous intricacies of political intrigue, which could induce him to build expectancies so large on so narrow and insecure a foundation.

Glamorgan, after some stay in Wales, to raise money for his enterprise, and to receive his final instructions and credentials, with difficulty reached Ireland. A short time he passed at Dublin, freely communicating with Ormond, and joining in the negotiations still publicly carried on with the popish deputies. He then proceeded to Kilkenny; and having satisfied the supreme council respecting his authority, by the production of several warrants and commissions, bearing the king's private seal, besides letters accrediting him to the pope, to Cardinal Spada, and to the papal nuncio expected in the island, he concluded a treaty, by which it was stipulated, that the Roman catholics should not only enjoy the free exercise of their religion, but should retain

possession of all those churches, with their privileges and revenues, which had been seized by them since the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641: in effect, that popery should become the established religion throughout the greater part of the kingdom. In return for so liberal a concession, it was agreed that they should, by a day named, furnish the ten thousand troops required for the king, and should assign to his use, for three years, a large proportion of the ecclesiastical revenue.

The discovery of this transaction, which both Charles and his agent had apprehended as probable, actually took place, in consequence of the fate that, as has been already intimated, befell the popish archbishop of Tuam before Sligo. For a time it was suppressed; but a second copy of the documents being transmitted to the government at Dublin, with an intimation that the English parliament were already in possession of the originals, it became requisite to take some decisive step for the purpose of vindicating the king to his protestant subjects; who, by the bare rumour of what had been going on, were, in both countries, thrown into a state of extraordinary excitement. Many asserted it to be impossible that his majesty could have consented to a step seemingly so irreconcileable both with their sense of what was right, and with his own repeated declarations; by others, royalists as well as republicans, the report was received with unmixed indignation at what they termed Charles's perfidy. Digby, who was now in Dublin, and who perhaps had been no party to the secret instructions of Glamorgan, inveighed loudly against the earl's presumption in concluding such a treaty; and Ormond, in a

council called on this emergency, yielding to that nobleman's demand, ordered him into custody on a charge of treason. A check was thus put to the scandal; but, in order to its effectual suppression, it was necessary to follow up the decisive act of the council by some demonstration from the king. Accordingly, in a message to the two houses, the king denied that he had authorised Glamorgan to enter into any treaty whatever, or furnished him with credentials beyond a commission to raise troops for his service. To Ormond, who was more perfectly acquainted with the facts, he adopted an evasive style; and Glamorgan himself, after the lapse of a few weeks, he encouraged, not only with assurances of his continued favour and esteem, but with hints of "revenge and reparation" for the indignity that had been put upon him. In truth, the earl was at no time apprehensive for his safety; and long before the king's disavowal had been laid before the parliament, he was liberated, and had returned to Kilkenny, with the approbation of the lord lieutenant, to continue the public negotiations for peace.

This ravelled story of unkingly intrigue it is impossible to contemplate without sentiments of melancholy and humiliation. And its entanglements are rendered more complicated, though more intelligible, by the consideration, that the Irish papists, for the sake of securing whose unavailing assistance the integrity of truth was thus violated, and the protestant zeal of the three kingdoms insulted, were themselves the party ultimately meant to be deceived. Charles I., if a martyr, was a martyr for the principles of the church of England, as

contradistinguished equally from popery on the one hand, and from sectarianism on the other. Had Glamorgan fully succeeded, the king would have availed himself of the services of the Roman catholics of Ireland; but he must of necessity have yielded to the stern and universal demands of that vast protestant majority by which alone he could reign, and have refused the stipulated reward of those services. The only point, in these transactions, on which the mind can rest with satisfaction, is the romantic loyalty of Glamorgan; and even this virtue is divested of the character of heroism by the debasing admixture of duplicity and contrivance.

Glamorgan at length succeeded in concluding a treaty, and received an immediate aid of 6000 men, with a promise that the remaining 4000 should be presently furnished. He assembled his troops at Waterford, intending from thence to attempt the relief of Chester; but while waiting for transports, he received intelligence that Chester, after suffering great extremities, had surrendered. No port on all that coast now remained, at which the Irish forces could be landed with any hope of success. Few indeed of the royal garrisons still held out. Peters, Cromwell's favourite preacher,—whom the hero of the deluded republicans usually employed, after every victory, to adorn it with those peculiar flowers of rhetoric which were most grateful to his patron,—now found in this function continual employment for his activity and zeal. The fall of Tiverton, of Exeter, and other places in the west, followed the dissolution of Lord Hopton's army. The principality in general had by this time declared for the parliament: only Ragland and Harlech

for some months longer defied the conqueror. Glamorgan's now useless forces were dispersed. Two or three hundred men accompanied Lord Digby to the coast of Cornwall, and thence to Jersey, to form a guard for the Prince of Wales; a more considerable body proceeded to Scotland, to aid Montrose; the remainder he sent back to their cantonments in the interior. Still, in the midst of his distresses, the king continued, as if under a spell, to look hopefully towards Ireland. Expectation in that quarter failed him, as it had ever done. The peace concluded, through Glamorgan's agency, with the council of the nation, was opposed by the clergy, following the instigation of the pope's nuncio, Rinuccini. War was renewed; and Ormond, helplessly shut up in Dublin, found himself, in the end, forced to make terms either with the popish or with the parliamentarian party. He preferred the latter, and returned to England.

Before the king left Newark, the garrison was already threatened by Pointz and Rossiter, each with a force superior to that within the walls; scarcely was he gone, when Leven also, in obedience to the mandate of the parliament, once more marched southward, and the united Scotch and English armies sat down before that loyal fortress. The only other place of strength remaining to the king, north of Oxford, was Worcester. Here, in the month of March, the brave old Lord Ashley, on whom had now fallen the chief command for the crown in the northern counties, got together a body of about 2000 horse and foot, with whom he proceeded to join the king at Oxford. The enemy, however, getting notice of his purpose, he was attacked at the end of the first day's

march, on the borders of Gloucestershire, defeated, and, with the majority of his troops, taken prisoner. The few that escaped were utterly dispersed. And now not an enemy to the parliament remained any where in the field. "You have done your work," said the captive nobleman to his conquerors, "and may now go play; unless" (a sagacious reservation!) "you fall out among yourselves." All, indeed, was over for the king. For, what could have availed now a few thousands of mercenary auxiliaries—Dutch, Lorrainers, Danes, or French —with whom, even for their sovereign, and under more hopeful auspices, hardly would the most devoted English loyalists have fought side by side. The sanguine and courageous Henrietta Maria herself, after having exhausted her interest and invention in diplomatic schemes and correspondence,—after crossing and recrossing the sea,—to rouse the tardy loyalist or to urge the reluctant ally, to become the messenger of intelligence or the angel of an ever-deceiving hope,—forgetting, for a time, in the mother, the consort and the queen, now confined her chief anxieties to her children; and sought no greater happiness, than to be assured of Prince Charles's safety in the islets of the channel, or to provide for his becoming reception among his indifferent kindred in the French court.

On the other side all was commensurate triumph. The sentiments of the parliamentarians on the fortunate termination of the war, are well conveyed in the following paragraphs, which describe the reception of Fairfax and Cromwell in London.

"The war being now quite finished," writes the contem-

porary historian May, "Fairfax, the victorious preserver of the English parliament, returned to London about the middle of November. All good men longed to see that great soldier, whom they could not but admire, by whose valour they were delivered from the worst of evils, and were now in expectation of a happy peace. The next day after he came to London, that he might see the gratitude of the parliament, the House of Peers sent their speaker, Manchester, whom the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, and many other nobles accompanied; who congratulated his return, and gave him great thanks for his most faithful and happy service to the commonwealth. When the Lords were gone, Lenthall, the speaker of the House of Commons, with almost three hundred members of that house, came to congratulate the general; to whom Lenthall made a speech, wherein he discoursed of the greatness of his actions, extolling them by examples of the most great and famous heroes of ancient times. 'You,' said he, 'noble general, shall all posterity admire and honour; and the people of England, since they can give you no thanks equal to your merits, do freely confess themselves for ever indebted to you, as the happy instrument of God, and finisher of our wars with incredible success.' To which the modest Fairfax made a short reply, acknowledging himself unworthy of so great an honour, and giving most humble thanks to the parliament; accounting it his greatest happiness in this world to be made by God instrumental for the good of his country."

Respecting Cromwell we are told, in Mr. Forster's life of that remarkable man, the motley hero of the

Civil Wars, that he also was "received in London with very extraordinary honours. The instant he entered the house the members rose and welcomed him, and the speaker in their name, after an elaborate eulogium, delivered the hearty thanks of the house for his many and great services."

But the gratitude of parliament, it is added, was not confined to such demonstrations of their confidence and esteem. They voted that Sir Thomas Fairfax should be created a baron, and an annuity of £5000 per annum settled on him, and that the elder Fairfax should be made an earl. An annual grant of half that amount was likewise conferred on Cromwell; and in the beginning of the year 1646, an ordinance passed the Commons, "that all the lands of the Earl of Worcester, Lord Herbert, and Sir John Somerset, his sons, in the county of Southampton, should be settled upon lieutenant-general Cromwell, and his heirs, to be accounted as part of the £2500 per annum formerly appointed him by this house." With such facility did that revolutionary senate apportion out among those who were at once their creatures and their masters, the inheritance of ancient and honourable families, whose only crime was to recognise, and fearlessly to discharge, the duty of subjects to their sovereign!

"So ended," observes one of Cromwell's early biographers, "the first war; with the praises and triumphs of this man of war, adored and worshipped by his party, who stuck not to blaspheme God and his scriptures, attributing all those hosannas, and psalms, and songs of deliverance and victory to this their champion—in effect, making a mere idol of him; which fanatic religious

veneration he missed not to improve, though, for the present, he covered his ambition with modesty and humility, ascribing all things, in a canting way of expression, to the goodness and omnipotence of God, which he frequently and impiously abused, intituling it to all his wicked and villanous designs and actions."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SCOTTISH CAMP.

CHARLES I., unhappy in war, was still more unhappy in the business of diplomacy. Passion, singleness of purpose, and recklessness of means, impart, even to men of moderate intellect, both vigour in action and the appearance of great mental power. No one, acquainted with the history of the domestic troubles in England in the seventeenth century, will be disposed to underrate the capacity of several among those who raised the storm, and directed its terrors. But they had the advantages of launching upon an impulse already in action, and of standing, with respect to the king, in the relation of the assailant to the defendant, of the revolutionist to the conservative. Cromwell derived energy from his restless ambition; Vane, from passionate admiration of his own political theories; the commonwealth men and independents in general, from that scorn of restraint and hatred of authority, which is a passion native to every heart; the presbyterians, from bigotted idolatry of their self-devised form of church government. To withstand these fierce conjoined motives, Charles had little besides a calm sense of duty to God, to his kingly state, and to posterity—a sustaining principle indeed; and hence he rises in our estimation, in exact proportion as the gloom

of adversity gathers round him; but little fitted to impart practical energy to the character. Defeated, betrayed, powerless, almost friendless—can we wonder that he should be baffled in those conflicts of cunning statesmanship, into which, by the unfortunate exigencies of his position, he was now forced?

Charles was assured, that by this time the hearts of his subjects, beginning to awake from their delusions, had, even within the rebel camp and the republican capital, turned again, in multitudes, to their king. He at no time abandoned his faith in the settled attachment of the people to the monarchy, the religion, and the laws, of their country. He believed that his presence, even among such of them as were most subservient to an affectedly popular, but really arbitrary government, and most completely beguiled by faction, would stimulate the renascent warmth of loyalty: he felt secure, that there were many friends whom the sight of him would encourage, and some among his worst enemies whom it would abash. Peace, moreover, peace on any terms compatible with the existence of the monarchy and the church, had now become absolutely indispensable. No sooner, then, had he found himself once more in Oxford, than he directed all his endeavours to open negotiations for this great object. Three successive messages, penned with "the most powerful persuasions imaginable," had been despatched, before his haughty victors at Westminster deigned to reply: their answer, when at length they condescended to answer, was, a refusal to receive the king's commissioners, with an intimation that they were themselves engaged in drawing up propositions for his majesty

to sign. Again the parliament relapsed into silence, notwithstanding the frequent renewal of the correspondence, on the king's part, "with many gracious expressions of his desire of peace, and many novel concessions." Meantime Fairfax, having reduced the western counties, was advancing to invest Oxford, and Charles was now in imminent danger of being enclosed by a hostile army, flushed with numerous victories, and too powerful to leave him any chance of successful resistance. At length, late in the month of March, he sent a message which suddenly roused the parliament from their insolent affectation of disregard. Charles desired, if he might have the engagement of the two Houses, the Scottish commissioners, and the chief officers of the English and Scottish armies, for his safety, to proceed to London, and there conduct a personal treaty. To this proposal, which he fortified by promising to concede, either absolutely or for a term of years, every thing required on the other side, except the sacrifice of his friends and the church, an answer was quickly vouchsafed. They reproached the king as the cause of all the bloodshed that had taken place, and reproved him for coupling with them in his message the military commanders, who were "subject and subordinate to their authority;" they absolutely refused his request, on the ground that the king's presence in London would neither be safe for him nor convenient to themselves; and concluded by again referring to those propositions which they were preparing, as the only conditions on which they would treat of peace.

Among the numerous letters written by the king in the course of these transactions, the following, to Lord

Digby, is strongly indicative of his pressing danger and delusive hopes; of the profound trouble of his royal mind, yet of its control by the enlarging magnanimity of his character.

"Since my last to you," writes the afflicted monarch, "misfortunes have so multiplied upon me, that I have been forced to send this (to say no more) but strange message to London; yet whatever becomes of me, I must not forget my friends, wherever they are.

"I am endeavouring to get to London, so that the conditions may be such as a gentleman may own, and that the rebels may acknowledge me king; being not without hope that I shall be able so to draw either the presbyterians or independents to side with me for extirpating one or the other, that I shall be really king again.

"Howsoever, I desire you to assure all my friends, that if I cannot live as a king I shall die like a gentleman, without doing that which may make honest men blush for me."

In the parliament's stern refusal of a personal conference, there was more of policy and fear, than of hatred. A yawning gulf already divided the two great rebel parties; which both saw but too clearly, though each eagerly strove to hide the prospect. As yet neither of them could dispense with the other. In the common cause against the "malignants," the republicans were still willing to tolerate the presbyterians; the presbyterians, confident in the final elevation of their idol "platform," stolidly consented to march beneath the banners of their perilous confederates. But the reign of independency, though yet in its infant and un-

assured state, was continually receiving new accessions of support. By various circumstances, such as voluntary absence of members, votes of incapacity, &c.—the House of Commons had become greatly reduced in numbers; no new members having been elected to supply the vacancies thus occasioned. An obvious method which this circumstance suggested to the republicans for recruiting their strength, was, by a vote of the house at once to overleap the legal difficulties which had hitherto been opposed to fresh elections. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1645, one hundred and forty-six new members were elected, and eighty-nine in the year following; of whom it was the business of the heads of the rising party to take care that a large proportion should be fully prepared either to lead or to follow in any course which their interests required. Among those introduced into the Commons in 1645, were Sidney, Ludlow, Skippon, Hutchinson, and others of similar character and views, no regard being now had to the self-denying ordinance; of those admitted in the early part of 1646, one was the notorious Harry Marten, who had been previously expelled the House for his profligate revolutionary sentiments, but was now recalled through the growing influence of the independent party. Nor indeed were all the exertions of Cromwell and Vane, of Ireton and St. John, more than sufficient, at this time, to maintain their progressive ascendency.

While Charles was thus being pushed towards the edge of the precipice, a friendly hand was at last stretched out to him by a foreign power;—this once only, during his protracted struggles, and now impotently, if not in-

sidiously. In the lifetime of Richelieu, and down to the fatal overthrow at Naseby, France, the only continental power from which Charles I. could reasonably expect effectual aid, was, on the contrary, secretly leagued against him. From the first outbreak of the tumults in Scotland, they were insidiously fomented by that wily and implacable politician; and those agents whom he sent over to England, on pretence of promoting an accommodation, were in reality employed to lend encouragement to the rebels, or, at best, while apparently favouring the royal cause, to perform a part wholly insignificant. But that tremendous blow startled France from her course of policy. To Mazarine, the new absolute minister, it appeared that matters were proceeding too far. It might carry some danger to the continental despotisms of Europe, farther to aid, or even idly to look on, while a huge democracy reared its head on the ruins of one of her ancient monarchies. From such misgivings proceeded the famous mission of Montreuil. The instructions which this envoy brought over from the queen regent of France (or the cardinal, in her name), and from Charles's consort, Henrietta, as the basis of his negotiations, were, by every argument in his power to persuade the king to yield to the demands of the presbyterians, as the less hostile of the two parties into the arms of one of which he must inevitably throw himself. A pledge, that the unhappy king would no longer refuse his consent, appears already to have been conveyed to the Scots, on the authority of the Queen of England and her two advisers, Jermyn and Culpeper. It is perhaps not greatly surprising, that a bigoted Roman catholic (to whom all

forms of Christianity but her own were alike indifferent), the mere butterfly of a court, and a moderately-informed soldier and statesman, should jointly misapprehend the degree of Charles's constancy on such a point as the primitive and inalienable authority of English bishops. Temperately, but firmly, he signified to Montreuil his absolute refusal; an unexpected decision, the king's persevering in which, ultimately occasioned the recall and disgrace of the too sanguine envoy; and when Sir William Davenant brought over from the queen and her council a distinct proposal to the same effect, attempting to recommend it by arguments more suitable for a court poet to urge than for a religious monarch to hear, the offended king forbade him his presence.

In the meantime, the danger of being shut up in Oxford grew imminent; Fairfax's officers having already blockaded the neighbouring garrisons of Wallingford and Woodstock, and the investing of Oxford itself being suspended only till the general, now released from the siege of Exeter, had completed his survey of the ground, and issued orders for its circumvallation. Of the selfishness and intolerance of the presbyterians, Charles had had ample experience; with respect to the independents, as a body, no such painful advantage had, as yet, fallen to his lot. A personal knowledge of some eminent individuals, of apparently enlarged and generous sentiments, had impressed him with a too favourable opinion of that party. Such a mistake would be more discreditable to the royal sagacity, could the king have read the page of futurity as we now read the records of history; but Charles had to collect the opinions of the independents as he

could, from the specious professions of Cromwell, and through the cloudy metaphysics of the younger Vane. In his present extreme need he made trial of their loyalty, or generosity. Two letters exist, written to Vane by the hands of Ashburnham, one of the grooms of the king's bed-chamber, in one of which Charles solicits the good office of that influential statesman in the following earnest terms:

"Be very confident that all things shall be performed according to my promise. By all that is good I conjure you to despatch that courtesy for me with all speed, or it will be too late; I shall perish before I receive the fruits of it. I may not tell you my necessities, but if it were necessary so to do, I am sure you would lay all other considerations aside, and fulfil my desires. This is all; trust me, I will repay the favour to the full. I have done. If I have not an answer within four days, I shall be necessitated to find some other expedient. God direct you! I have discharged my duty."

The favour thus pathetically implored, was that of permission to repair to London. He had renewed his application for a personal conference, in a letter which, being unfortunately produced when the house were "not in the vein," was thrown by, and neglected. For aught that appears, the parliamentary leader of the independents treated the fallen monarch's private correspondence with the like contemptuous silence.

Montreuil's earliest reports from the Scottish camp before Newark, sounded favourably. Charles's pertinacious refusal to countenance their idolized form of church government, gave offence, but the possession of the king's person, which the envoy was instructed to hold

out to the commissioners, seemed a prospective advantage over their enemies in the English parliament, which was not to be neglected. After some time spent in communicating with their brethren at Westminster, they offered the king an asylum, on condition that he made his appearance attended only by two individuals, and let himself fall, as it were by accident, into the hands of a party of cavalry, to be stationed in the way for this purpose. Charles, however, did not omit the needful precaution of previously sending a trusty person to ascertain that all had been arranged according to agreement. The messenger selected for this purpose was Hudson, his "plain-spoken" chaplain, as the king familiarly styled him—one of those ecclesiastics whom the rude iniquity of the times had thrust into employments alien to their education and former habits. Hudson had filled the office of the king's scoutmaster-general in the north, and was well acquainted with every road and bypath of those regions. He found Montreuil in an altered mood. The Scottish commissioners in London differed in their view of the project in hand from the officers and the commissioners of the Estates before Newark. Montreuil had now lost all confidence in the parties, and presaged ill for the design. But the king's situation was become desperate. Oxford, strong by natural position, had been made, by the skill and cost bestowed on its fortifications, almost impregnable; it was besides well garrisoned and provisioned, and might therefore be successfully defended for several months. One, nevertheless, of two alternatives, could alone save the king, from the certain captivity, to which, at the termination of that

period, famine would compel him to submit, if he lingered there. The first was, to procure more favourable terms by an immediate surrender. He attempted it, and failed. Neither Ireton nor Rainsborough, who both lay with their divisions in the neighbourhood, would engage to protect their sovereign, and conduct him in safety to the parliament. The king was therefore forced to fall back on the Scots as his only resource. At this moment a messenger came in from Newark, with the intelligence that the commissioners had settled their differences on the proposed arrangement, and that Lesley's promised escort was actually ordered out. Charles hastily acquainted his council that it was his intention, without delay, to quit Oxford, but not on what design; leaving them to surmise that he meant to put in practice a romantic scheme which had sometimes been the subject of his discourse, viz. to throw himself naked into the midst of friends and foes in London, and leave the rest to Providence, and the remains of the ancient English loyalty. At dead of night, April 27, 1645, he took a final farewell of that spot so dear to his heart; the solemn groves, the antique towers, the noiseless streets of Oxford—fit capital for the empire of a learned and sorrow-stricken king!

The stroke of three was quivering through the keen atmosphere of the early spring morning, when the same number of horsemen, crossing Magdalene bridge, reached the gateway that opened upon the London road. Here the party halted, and one of them spoke, in low tones, to a military personage, apparently in charge of the portal. "Let not a post," he said, "be opened, until five days be past." The other returned an earnest assent; it was

the king, giving his last order to Sir Thomas Glemham, governor of Oxford. The three cavaliers passed on. "Farewell, Harry!" exclaimed the governor. Nor could any thing be observed in the king's appearance which betrayed inconsistency in this familiar adieu. For Charles, habited as a serving man, with clipped beard and shorn locks, wearing a Spanish cap of the period, and having in charge a cloak-bag, followed his favourite attendant, Ashburnham; while Hudson, covered with a military mantle, personated a captain going to London about his composition—in those times a traveller's frequent errand. Only Hudson and Ashburnham were armed.

Notwithstanding this dangerously decisive step, Charles was still unresolved in what direction to proceed; whether, in pursuance of the plan lately in agitation, to cast himself upon the protection of the Scots; to revive the favourite project of attempting to join Montrose; or to dare the greater hazard of making his appearance in the metropolis. The choice among these fearful projects, he left to be decided by such information as he might casually pick up on the road. To what dangers the king's unprotected flight exposed his person, soon began to be apparent. The travellers encountered a party of the parliamentarian troopers, who inquired to whom they belonged? "To the honourable House of Commons," was the satisfactory reply. Another soldier coming up with them, and observing Ashburnham unusually free in the distribution of money—"Is your master," he demanded of the king, "one of the lords of parliament?" "No," answered the counterfeit groom, "my master is of the lower house."

While stopping to bait at the village-inn of Hillingdon, near Uxbridge, the question of their destination was anxiously debated among the fugitives. They looked over the "Mercuries" and "news-books;" from these they learned, that the parliament had already notice from before Oxford of the king's escape: in what temper the intelligence was received, may be gathered from two ordinances, published presently afterwards. The first of these insolent proclamations decreed, that, if the sovereign should appear in his capital without the parliament's consent, his person should be apprehended, and his followers imprisoned; that all who "harboured or concealed" the king, or knew of his being harboured or concealed, and did not instantly reveal it to the speakers of the two houses, should be capitally proceeded against. By the second ordinance it was commanded, that every person who had borne arms for the king should depart beyond the lines of communication, on pain of forfeiting his life as a spy.

The intelligence now collected was decisive against entering the metropolis. The party turned out of the high road, northward, through Harrow and St. Alban's; frequently meeting with soldiers, whose inquiries they were enabled to satisfy with a ready answer, and a moderate donation. At Harborough, the place appointed, they sought the promised troop of Scottish horse, but could learn nothing of them. The brave divine, who now saw his worst suspicions of the Scots realized, offered to proceed alone to London, and negotiate with the heads of the parties for the king's honourable reception. This proposal was overruled, and the king

G. Cattermole. Frederick J. Heath.

resolved to persevere in proceeding northward, but by a circuitous route. Charles's disguise being now known, it became necessary to change it, and he assumed the character of a clergyman. The aid of a barber was required; when the man's persevering inquiries about the unworthy brother craftsman who had last operated upon the tresses of the king, were likely to prove dangerous. It was the unpractised hand of Ashburnham which had hastily performed that office, on the night of the flight from Oxford. At Downham, in Norfolk, the king and Ashburnham passed four days, while Dr. Hudson was dispatched to Montreuil for information and advice. The Frenchman, whose whole conduct in his difficult and unfortunate embassy, denoted an honest purpose to serve the king, advised that, although the cautious determination of the Scots not to appear implicated in his escape, made them still evade subscription to any engagement, and had prevented their dispatching the escort promised, the king should nevertheless deliver himself up to them as the most eligible choice now remaining. Accordingly, as Hudson farther brought back with him a solemn confirmation, by their commissioners, of the verbal agreement previously made, the king no longer hesitated. Charles had left Oxford on the 26th of April; and, late on the 5th of May, he arrived at Southwell, where Montreuil resided. Thus, records Ashburnham (who assumes the responsibility of this transaction) "in obedience to his majesty's pleasure, I performed my duty; and with humble acknowledgments to God's protection (after nine days' travel upon the way, and in that time having passed through fourteen guards

and garrisons of the enemy) we arrived safe at the Scots' army before Newark." From Montreuil's residence, the king proceeded to the head-quarters of General Leven, by whom he was conducted to Kelham House, where a guard was assigned him by the commissioners. That this ceremony was intended rather for his security as a captive, and to prevent all communication with the officers, than to do him honour as their prince, the king at once satisfied himself by attempting to give the word. He was immediately interrupted by Leven: "I am the older soldier, Sir," said the Scot: "your majesty had better leave that office to me."

Thus, from the first moment, it was sufficiently apparent, that not loyalty but self-interest directed the conduct of the Scots. Having the king safe among them, their policy was to exhibit the strongest marks of surprise as well as of joy, "that he had so far honoured their army, as to think it worthy his presence after so much opposition." The general raised his hands in amazement on Charles's making his appearance in his quarters, and the Earl of Lothian exhibited equal surprise when the deluded prince referred to the conditions on which he had come among them. "For himself, he had been privy to nothing of the kind, and he believed the same of the other commissioners residing with the army." It was now the king's turn to be astonished. "How came I then," he asked, "to be invited hither, with an assurance that all differences were reconciled, and with a promise that David Lesley was to meet and bring me here with a troop of cavalry?" He confronted them with Montreuil. The negotiations they could no

longer deny, but affected to assign no other meaning to all that had passed, than an indication that "they approved of his majesty's confidence in them, and honouring their army with his residence, while he settled a peace with his two kingdoms." What the peace meant, Lothian took care to explain by limiting all his discourse upon the subject to the taking of the covenant, and subscribing the propositions magisterially to be laid before him by the parliament. They crowned their duplicity by a letter addressed to the committee of both kingdoms, at Westminster, in which the general and committee of estates, gave the parliament the following account of "that strange providence" that had befallen them. "The king," asserts this veracious document, "came into our army yesterday in so private a way, that, after we had made search for him upon the surmises of some persons who pretended to know his face, yet we could not find him out in sundry houses. And we believe your lordships will think it was matter of much astonishment to us, seeing we did not expect he would have come in any place under our power. We conceived it not fit," they dutifully and piously continue, "to inquire into the causes that persuaded him to come hither, but to endeavour that his being here might be improved to the best advantage, for promoting the work of uniformity, and for settling of religion and righteousness, and attaining of peace according to the league and covenant."

On the 6th of May the parliament was startled by the news of the king's arrival in the Scotch camp. The commonwealth-men instantly perceived that this important circumstance, though the completion of their triumph

over the royalists was likely to retard the growing superiority of their party in the struggle with the more powerful presbyterians. After a protracted debate, they carried a vote in the Commons, that the Scots should order their general to conduct the king to Warwick Castle; and that Ashburnham and Hudson should be delivered up to the parliament as delinquents.

The Scots, drawing confidence from the serious interest at stake, contested both parts of this vote. To the parliament's argument, that, as mercenaries in English pay, they could claim no share in the disposal of the king, they opposed their national right in him as sovereign of Scotland no less than of England. They farther alleged the claim he had established to their protection, by having come voluntarily into the Scottish camp. The latter plea they likewise extended to the persons who had accompanied the king. Charles, however, foreseeing that they would probably soon yield this point, commanded Ashburnham to make his escape, and go over to the queen; but Hudson was given up, interrogated at Westminster, and imprisoned. At the same time, as all motive for prolonging the struggle was now at an end, the king attested the sincerity of his pacific intentions, by ordering Lord Bellasis to deliver Newark to the parliament, and disband his troops. The like orders he sent respectively to the governors of Oxford, Lichfield, Worcester, and all other fortresses which yet held out for him in England. The Irish garrisons, in like manner, were soon afterwards given up. Finally, Montrose, who had hitherto continued to display the royal banner among his native mountains, submitted to the

king's orders, sheathed the last and bravest sword drawn in the royal cause, and sought shelter on a foreign soil. The Scots were most anxious to avoid a rupture with the parliament, but were resolved, nevertheless, to hold their prize. The day following the surrender of Newark beheld the king riding with Lesley, in the van of the Scottish army, on its march towards Newcastle. In this order, within little more than a week from his first appearance in the camp before Newark, Charles was conducted, along a street lined with troops, to the general's quarters in that garrison; his residence—to speak more correctly, his prison—through a dreary space of nine months.

Great was now the ire of the parliament. They directed Pointz, with a brigade of 5000 horse, to observe the motions of those contumacious auxiliaries; at the same time, Fairfax likewise received orders to move towards the north. No longer courted as dear brethren in the bonds of the covenant, the Scots, long since declining in favour, became at once the objects of measures and invectives alike severe. Their free quarters, pillaging, and various other forms of oppression, had become intolerable. The old grievance, their placing garrisons in Newcastle, Berwick, and Carlisle, in violation of their engagements, was urged with fresh asperity. Their dismissal out of the kingdom was voted, together with a grant of £100,000 for unsettled claims, provided they immediately surrendered those posts and departed. But those allies of the parliament were no longer in haste. In "a declaration of the lord general, the officers, and soldiers of their army," they mildly answered, that they

had come into the kingdom at the earnest desire of their brethren, not for any mercenary ends; that they were most willing to return home in peace, nor should the matter of money, or want of just recompence for the services performed, be an argument of delay. This declaration is dated June 29th. On the 6th of July, the vote of dismission was nevertheless repeated in sharper terms. The parliament declared "that the kingdom had no farther need of the Scotch army, and was unable to pay them longer." Ceasing now to profess that they were no mercenaries, and that, having discharged a friendly office, they desired nothing so much as to retire from the kingdom, the Scots suddenly remembered, that, "according to the large treaty," certain arrears were due to them "for their pains, hazards, charges, and sufferings; whereof" they desire "a competent proportion to be presently paid, and security to be given for the remainder." Their first estimate raises this demand to two millions, of which, however, they acknowledged, £700,000 had already been received, "in monies, provisions, assessments, quarters, and otherwise." The settlement of the enormous balance they were not indeed in a condition to enforce at the sword's point, against the numerous, brave, and victorious army of their English brethren; but, in the possession of the king's person, they had a pledge, that at least some reasonable compromise would be allowed. They lowered their claim to £500,000; and the House of Commons finally agreed to the immediate payment of £200,000, to be raised from the sale of lands taken from the bishops and other delinquents, and that a second sum of £200,000 should

also be paid within two years, to be secured, in the meantime, not, as the Scots desired, in the same manner as the first, but "on the public faith of the nation." This large grant of money it may not be just to describe as the price of the king, though loyal men called it so, and though Charles himself declared, when he heard of it, that he "was bought and sold;" but the negotiations for its liquidation certainly kept exact pace with those for the transfer of that anointed head from the one party to the other; and granting it to have been due, as affirmed, to the Scots, that people ("who would not," they had declared, "suffer any private respect of this kind to retard the advancement of the cause") did nevertheless use their advantage in the possession of the royal person, as the means of enforcing payment. The whole transaction is one which charity and patriotism would gladly unite to blot from our history, did not severe truth keep watch over the record!

Other, and, to the king, not less painful negotiations, were at the same time in progress. The presbyterian party in England, and with them the Scots, were willing that Charles should retain the name of king, and the shadow of royal authority. The condition on which they were disposed to grant these—the act whereby he was required to declare his acceptance of so much, and nothing more—was his signing the solemn League and Covenant. From the hope that they would be able to force this step upon him, proceeded all the satisfaction with which his proposal to come among them was at first received by his northern subjects; and, notwithstanding the positive declarations of the king, on this point, to

Montreuil, they still cherished the belief that the loss of three kingdoms, the absence of all he loved and trusted, and the infinite uneasinesses and regrets attached to his present situation, would yet bend the stubborn conscience —in their view, the kingly wilfulness— of Charles, to yield all that Mazarine and Henrietta had promised. With this impression they began, from the day of their unfortunate sovereign's arrival at Newark, to attempt his conversion to the presbyterian creed; the great indispensable preliminary to his taking the covenant, as this latter was the farther needful step to his acceptance of the parliament's proposals, so long in preparation. Charles had pledged his word, before leaving Oxford, that if he came among them he would hear their ministers, and make all such concessions on the score of religion as his conscience would allow. Nor did considerations of delicacy, or respect, prevent the Scots from taking the full advantage both of his promise and his helplessness. The same fervid bigotry raged among men of all orders and professions in Scotland. Whether the persons with whom, from choice or necessity, he conversed, were divines, or statesmen, or soldiers, still the covenant and the kirk formed the theme of discourse; and of the only instance related, in which any party interposed between the persecuted king and vulgar urgency, or even insult, on this topic, the credit is due to the multitude. "A Scotch minister," says Whitelocke, "preached boldly before the king at Newcastle, and after his sermon, called for the fifty-second Psalm, '*Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself, thy wicked works to praise?*' His majesty thereupon stood up, and called for the fifty-sixth Psalm, which

begins, "*Have mercy, Lord, on me I pray, for men would me devour.*' The people waved [refused] the minister's psalm, and sang that which the king called for." At length, the great champion of the presbyterian form of church government, Henderson, who had attended the Uxbridge conference for the purpose of arguing for the divine authority of that scheme, made his appearance at Newcastle. Charles readily consented to listen to a man so celebrated; and a controversy, in writing, ensued, which exhausts the subject, and remains a monument of polemic skill honourable to the combatants. Those modern writers who take the unfriendly view of Charles I.'s character endeavour to discredit the statement, that the king was the unaided author of the papers produced by him on this occasion. A higher degree of confidence, however, appears justly due to the judgment of a hostile, but not uncandid contemporary, Rushworth, who tells us that "these papers show his majesty's great ability in those controversies, being [drawn up] at a time when he could not have the assistance of his chaplains." The general views by which Charles's conduct was governed, with relation to the subject of episcopal authority, are laid down in the following paragraph, with which he introduces the subject:—

"No one thing made me more reverence the Reformation of my mother, the church of England, than that it was done (according to the apostle's defence, Acts xxiv. 18), 'neither with multitude nor with tumult,' but legally and orderly, and by those whom I conceive to have the reforming power; which, with many other inducements, made me always confident that the work was very perfect

as to essentials; of which number church government being undoubtedly one, I put no question but that would have been likewise altered if there had been cause. Which opinion of mine was soon turned into more than confidence, when I perceived that in this particular (as I must say of all the rest) we retained nothing, but according as it was deduced from the apostles to be the constant universal custom of the primitive church; and that it was of such consequence, as by the alteration of it we should deprive ourselves of a lawful priesthood; and then, how the sacraments can be duly administered, is easy to judge. These are the principal reasons which make me believe that bishops are necessary for a church, and, I think, sufficient for me (if I had no more) not to give my consent for their expulsion out of England. But I have another obligation, that to my particular is a no less tie of conscience, which is, my coronation oath. Now if (as St. Paul saith, Rom. xiv. 23) 'he that doubteth is damned if he eat,' what can I expect, if I should not only give way knowingly to my people's sinning, but likewise be perjured myself?"

The controversy opened at the close of May, and, in the middle of July, was terminated by the illness of the Scottish divine, who retired to Edinburgh, and died there in August. "Some said," records Whitelocke, "he died of grief, because he could not persuade the king to sign the propositions."

This famous document was presented to the king, towards the close of July. It was the same, with some aggravations, as the list of propositions brought forward, the year before, at Uxbridge: by it Charles was required

to take the covenant, and consent to the abolition of episcopal government; absolutely to resign the command of the military force of the empire into the hands of the parliament; to agree to the proscription of all the most distinguished loyalists; and to acknowledge the legality of every thing that had been done by his enemies. The commissioners, who presented these articles, had no power to debate allowed them: they were simply to take back the king's answer, at the end of ten days: "A trumpeter," he is said to have again remarked, "had done as well." They, however, earnestly pressed him to sign, as the only means that now remained of settling the kingdom. The Scottish leaders were more urgent—probably, on this point, more sincere. "The people," said the Earl of Loudon, "weary of war, and groaning under taxes, though they desire peace, yet are so much against the pulling down of monarchy, under which they have long flourished, that they which are weary of your government, dare not go about to throw it off, until they have, once at least, offered propositions of peace to your majesty; lest the vulgar, without whose concurrence they cannot perfect the work, should fall upon them." These were the honest sentiments both of the Scotch nation and the English presbyterians. Having extinguished the fire of loyalty in their bosoms, and cast off all decent respect for the person of the sovereign, they nevertheless perceived the convenience of retaining him as an instrument in their power, and indulged a secret pride in the prospect of treating their monarch as their slave. They incessantly harassed the king with menaces of the ruin that must follow the rejection of their stern advice. "The

parliament," continued Loudon, "is in possession of your navy, of all the towns, castles, and forts of England. They enjoy (besides sequestration) your revenue. Soldiers and monies are raised by their authority; and after so many victories and successes, they have a standing army, so strong as to be able to act any thing in church or state at their pleasure." The alternative of restoration to a constitutional, though not an absolute throne, depended on the king's present decision. The parliament, who had the power, might by refusal, or even by delay, be provoked to adopt the determination of excluding him from the throne. For themselves, they had given him abundant warning; to him alone would be attributable the consequences of his choice.

Charles had strong reasons of a political nature for rejecting this advice. His distrust of the presbyterians was hereditary and profound; and could he fail to bear in mind the sad confirmation, afforded in his own career, of his father's maxim, "no bishop, no king?" He still clung to the belief, that, notwithstanding the seeming unanimity of the two great factions, they would presently be divided, even on the one question that most nearly concerned himself. In believing that the royal authority was still sufficient, at the least, to adjust the balance between the presbyterian and commonwealth factions, he was, doubtless, mistaken; for with them, bare political power, not attachment or the sense of duty, was allowed any weight; and power he had none. He never ceased also to place some degree of reliance on the returning loyalty of the multitudes. It was, nevertheless, sincere regard for the religious polity of England, blended with a solemn

conviction that his duty was, to risk all things for its maintenance, which chiefly dictated his answer to the propositions. "He was ready cheerfully to grant and give his assent to all such measures as should be really for the good and peace of his people, without respect to his own particular interests; but never could he consent to what was absolutely destructive to that just power, which, by the laws of God and the land, he was born to." He added, that many of the propositions were such, that their exact meaning and extent could not be ascertained otherwise than in a personal conference; for which purpose he desired to repair to his capital, as soon as he had the assurance of the two Houses and the Scotch commissioners, that he might appear there with freedom, honour, and safety.

The death of his theological opponent afforded the king no respite from controversy on the proposed surrender of the church. A correspondence with Jermyn, Colepepper, and Ashburnham, now in attendance on the queen at St. Germain's, furnished painful occupation for several successive weeks. It was an easy task for the pen of Charles—a pen which had foiled the learned Scotch divine—to sport at pleasure with the arguments of such polemics; but the pertinacity of the courtiers, in returning incessantly to the point, was proportioned to the sense they entertained of the difficulty and danger of the king's position, to their incapacity to appreciate his motives, and to the strength of their less generous reasons for desiring peace at whatever sacrifice on his part. Again and again, Charles condescended to repeat the grounds of his inflexibility. He was no less firmly

convinced that episcopacy is of divine institution, than the Scots that their synodical government was so; he could not dispense with his coronation-oath, which obliged him to maintain the Church of England; he farther believed, from the experience of his father's and his own reigns, that, through the church, the presbyterians really struck at the monarchy, and that their cherished polity is essentially hostile to kingly government. "Believe it," he writes, "religion is the only firm foundation of all power. That cast loose, or depraved, no government can be stable." And, in a letter to the prince, written about this time, he lays it down as "the chief particular duty of a king to maintain the true religion." The three courtiers, however, still persevered. And, although Charles was so little moved by their arguments, that he declared "they were not only against his conscience, but absolutely destructive to the end" of those who adduced them, "viz. the maintenance of monarchy;" although he "conjures them, as they are Christians, no more thus to torture him," assuring them, that "the more they pressed him on this subject, the more they would contribute to his ruin;" yet, urged on every side, with entreaty, argument, and menace, Charles's resolution at length staggered. He consulted Juxon and Duppa, bishops of London and Salisbury, whether he might lawfully "yield a compliance with the iniquity of the times," on the subject of church government. The result was a proposition, authorised to be made privately by an agent in London, to the leaders of the presbyterian party, to allow of their church discipline for five years, and to resign the command of the militia for ten years,

or even for the term of his reign, on their agreeing to the re-establishment of episcopacy, on a moderated scale, at the close of the former period. But the parties with whom he had to deal, were resolved to enforce their "bond." The Scots refused to yield any tittle of the covenant; nor would either parliament or Scots abate one iota of the propositions. Like the rest of the king's concessions, therefore, this also was regarded merely as a further indication of weakness, and set aside as unworthy of consideration.

Many months had now been consumed at Newcastle in endless discussions on the covenant and propositions; at London, in debates in parliament, and disputes between that assembly and the Scots, respecting the disposal of the refractory king, and the tacit, if not avowed, condition of his surrender. At length, towards the middle of December, the Scots' commissioners intimated to their captive what course they had determined to pursue, by laying before him a resolution of the parliament at Edinburgh, not to allow the king to enter Scotland. Charles perceived the crisis to be near, and once more vainly renewed his petition to be heard in the metropolis—a petition, he said, "which, if refused to a subject by a king, he would be thought a tyrant for it." The same day on which the vote against admitting the king into Scotland passed in the parliament at Edinburgh, also witnessed the departure from London of a numerous train of military carriages, laden with coin to the value of £200,000, the first instalment of the sum to be paid to the Scots. On Christmas-day—(a sacred festival, not now for the first time devoted by them to public busi-

ness), the Commons passed a resolution in which the Lords also concurred, that the king's house at Holdenby, in Northamptonshire, should be the place of his confinement. In the meantime, that serviceable officer, Skippon, who, with a strong force under his command, had been ordered to convey the money to the Scots, arrived at Northallerton with his valuable charge, transferred it to the care of their commissioners, and "received their acquittance." In addition to this form of acknowledgment, the commissioners presented a request, voted by the parliament at Edinburgh, that no violence should be offered to the person of the royal captive, and that no obstacle should be opposed to the legal succession in his family. The Scotch army then marched out of Newcastle, and Skippon immediately took possession of it with his troops.

On the 23rd day of January, the lords Pembroke, Denbigh, and Montague, with Sir William Armyn, and five other members of the Commons, attended by a strong escort of horse, entered Newcastle from London, to take charge of the king. Their arrival was communicated to him by the commissioners of Scotland. "I came among you," said Charles, "for protection, which you had already guaranteed: what is the reason that you now deny it me, by preventing my accompanying your army into Scotland." "It is because your majesty refuses to sign the covenant and the propositions. We are therefore to deliver you to the commissioners of the parliament of England, who will conduct you to your manor of Holdenby." Charles received the English commissioners with great cheerfulness and

affability, distinguishing, with special kindness, the old Earl of Pembroke, who had formerly been high in office at court, and was believed to retain still some affection for his master. The king was glad, he said, to see that the earl's advanced years had not prevented his undertaking that long and winterly journey. But the commissioners were not to be moved by courtesies from what they regarded as points of duty. Charles requested that he might now be allowed the attendance of two of his chaplains, a comfort of which he had so long been deprived: he was answered, that they had brought down with them two learned ministers, and that "the attendance of any other chaplains would not be for his majesty's benefit."

In the way to Holdenby, the people flocked about the king, with acclamations, tears, and prayers; and many diseased persons solicited and received the royal touch. In these indications of unextinguished or reviving loyalty, they received no disturbance from the troops. The army, at this time, lay at Nottingham; and as the king's cavalcade approached the gates, Fairfax came out to meet it, alighted, kissed the king's hand, and, remounting, accompanied and conversed with him through the town. "Dethronement," "commonwealth," and other such portentous words, had already been heard, like the muttering of distant thunder, in the rebel horizon. But they found no echo in the hearts of the people; no recognition in the ear of Fairfax. Whatever dark purposes might already be engendered in bosoms subsequently stained with regicidal guilt, it could not be difficult to impose on that undiscerning frankness, which

Cromwell's hypocrisy sported with, even while the head of the royal victim was extended on the block. As the procession drew near the place of its destination, it was met by the noblemen and gentlemen of the county, who, with a multitude of the inferior classes, had assembled to express their duty to their sovereign, and to welcome his entrance once more beneath a royal roof. It was on the 16th of February, 1646-7, that King Charles alighted at the door of his magnificent mansion of Holdenby.

CHAPTER IX.

THE KING'S FAMILY.

It were vain to speculate, what might have been the effect on the fortunes of the king himself, and on the future settlement of the nation, had Charles, instead of repairing to the Scots, chosen one of those other courses, which, at an earlier period, were open to him: had he, for example, sought in person to rouse the sympathy of France or Holland, or thrown himself upon the generosity of his enemies at Westminster. One other resource there was besides, which his highminded Chancellor of the Exchequer, had he been then present with his master, would have recommended. "I would rather," said Hyde, "he should have stayed in Oxford, and after defending it to the last biscuit, been taken prisoner with his honest retinue about him, and then relied upon his own virtue in imprisonment, than to have thrown himself into the arms of the Scots. Not that I imagined they could have done what every body concludes they have or will do; but that I thought it an unkingly thing to ask relief of those who had done all the mischief." Nor was this method of putting a close to the contest, strange to the king's contemplations, or unsuited to his temper. He shrank, however, from the

view of the extensive misery it must occasion, and probably dreaded the disgrace of being made a spectacle of captive royalty to his rebel subjects.

Fortunate for Oxford, at least, was the king's choice. The walls of that city enclosed many of those persons who were dearest to him, and who were at the same time the least fitted to endure the miseries of a protracted siege, or to contribute towards effectual resistance. The Duke of York, the ladies and families of many of the nobility and gentry, numerous clergymen and learned residents in the university, were there; whose presence must have aggravated the evils, while it accelerated the advance, of the inevitable result, viz. ultimate surrender. For, though the number, experience, and bravery of the garrison, enabled them to defy assault, they were nevertheless wholly unequal to act on the offensive against Fairfax's host, and relief in any shape from without was hopeless. The terms of the capitulation were honourable to both parties. The Duke of York was to be conducted to London, there to have fitting provision made for him by the parliament. To the princes Rupert and Maurice, liberty was given to reside six months longer in England, and then to go beyond sea. The garrison to march out with every military honour. The inhabitants to remain, if they chose, three months longer in the city, and to go where they pleased. Those whose estates were under sequestration to be admitted to compound at the rate of two years' income, and no farther restraint to be placed upon them, except in London, where all persons coming from Oxford, or from any other of the king's garrisons, were forbidden to wear or possess

arms, or to be out of their lodgings after nine o'clock at night. The university, and city, to be continued in the undisturbed enjoyment of their respective privileges under the parliament. His majesty's servants to have liberty either to repair to him within one month, or to retire to his palace at Hampton Court. Some of these conditions the parliament endeavoured to recall, after they had already been agreed to by the army. But in the meantime the two princes, maintaining the accustomed impatience of their character, marched out with their retinue of cavaliers and attendants, some days before the formal surrender of the place. Having, in their passage towards Dover, diverged to Oatlands, though allowed by the articles of surrender to approach no nearer to the metropolis than a distance of twenty miles, the houses testified their displeasure in an expostulatory letter hastening their departure. After visiting their brother, the prince Elector, then residing in England in the character of a pensioner on the parliament, they joined the queen and the Prince of Wales at St. Germain's, where Rupert accepted from the king of France an appointment to the command of all the English that were, or might be, embodied in that country.

The terms granted to such of the remaining garrisons, as unhesitatingly obeyed the king's order to submit, were little less favourable. Only Ragland was yielded without conditions. This gallant little fortress had been summoned on the 8th of June by Colonel Morgan, at the head of a force from Worcester. For some time the brave old marquess wholly disregarded the message, refusing to believe that Charles could have tacitly included

Ragland in a general warrant of surrender. "Wherefore," was his answer, "I make choice (if it so please God) rather to die nobly than to live with infamy." Presently afterwards, Fairfax himself appeared before Ragland, and repeated the summons. A correspondence ensued, in which the marquess refers, in affecting terms, to the intimacy which had subsisted between himself and the family of the lord-general; and, on the 19th day of August, the venerable old nobleman was persuaded to pull down the royal standard, but not till it had previously ceased to float over any other fortress in the island. The large possessions of the marquess had already been confiscated by the parliament. He was consequently prevented from becoming, at the age of fourscore, a houseless dependant on the bounty of his enemies, only by his death, which followed immediately after his arriving in London, when the lords ordered a sum to be advanced for the expenses of his funeral.

A person not less admirable for his firm and disinterested support of the cause of legal government, fell into the parliament's hands at the surrender of Worcester. This was the famous Welsh judge, David Jenkins; round whose name radiates a renown very different from that which encircles most of the legal reputations of that age, famous for distinguished lawyers. Judge Jenkins had already been looked up to, during an entire generation, by his fellow jurists as an oracle of constitutional wisdom, and by the court and people as an upright and able administrator of the laws, when the civil war broke out. It was from no courtly temper (for he had uniformly opposed all encroachments on the liberties of English-

men), from no sentimental loyalty (for he was a stern man), but purely to vindicate the law, that he declared himself a foe to rebellion, by imprisoning on his circuit parties who appeared in arms against the king, and by himself drawing his sword in the royal cause. Several attempts had been made to crush this dangerous and indefatigable adversary, by means of fine and imprisonment, inflicted under a show of law, previously to his being brought, in February, 1647, before the House of Commons, in company with one Sir Francis Butler. When the two delinquents appeared at the bar, Butler knelt as he was directed, but Judge Jenkins refused. In the reprimand which followed, Lenthall, the speaker, addressing both as notorious delinquents, particularly referred to the elder prisoner's omission of the usual mark of respect to the house, "which," he said, "was the greater fault in him, seeing he pretended to be knowing in the laws of the land." During these animadversions, the judge, in a low voice, desired his companion not to say much. "Let all their malice," he said, "light upon me: I am an old man, and you comparatively young." The speaker having concluded, Judge Jenkins asked if he might now have liberty to speak? "Yes," answered Lenthall, "so you be not very long." "No," continued the judge, "I will not trouble either myself or you with many words. In your speech, Mr. Speaker, you said the house was offended at my behaviour in not making any obeisance to you at my coming here; and that this was the more wondered at, because I pretended to be knowing in the laws of the land. I answer, that, I thank God, I not only pretend to be, but am, knowing in the laws of the land (having made

it my study for these five-and-forty years;) and that I am so, is the cause of my behaviour. For as long as you had the king's arms engraven on your mace, and that your great seal was not counterfeit, had I come here I would have bowed in obedience to his writ and authority, by whom you were first called. But, Mr. Speaker, since you and this house have renounced your duty and allegiance to your sovereign leige lord, and are become a den of thieves, should I bow myself in this house of Rimmon, the Lord would not pardon me in this thing."

This dauntless outburst of honest indignation instantly threw the whole assembly into an uproar. It was half an hour before any order could be restored; during all which time ten or even twenty members would be haranguing confusedly together, with furious looks and gestures. At length the tumult a little abated. The house voted the prisoners guilty of high treason, without any form of trial; and calling for the keeper of Newgate, inquired what were the usual days of execution for treason. "Wednesdays and Fridays," was the answer of that functionary. And it was only in consequence of a remark of Marten, on the question whether the execution should take place on the following Wednesday or Friday, that this monstrous purpose was suspended. That republican suggesting, in terms ludicrously contemptuous, that the old man courted death as a martyr for the laws, in the hope that his execution would produce a great effect on the people, the house, tranquillized by this wholesome fear, and by the humour of its buffoon, agreed to remand the prisoners. On their return to prison, Butler asked his intrepid companion if he had not been

too hardy in his language to the house? "Not at all," replied the judge. "Rebellion has been so successful in this kingdom, and has gotten such a head, that weak loyal persons will be allured to comply with it, if some vigorous and brave resistance be not made against these men, even to their faces. This was the cause why I said such home things to them. And whenever the day of my execution come, I shall be like Samson, and destroy more Philistines than I have ever hitherto done in all my life. And in this thought of mine I am so wrapped up, that I hope they will not long defer my execution."

Perceiving Butler's wonder to be excited by this extraordinary declaration, the judge proceeded. "I will tell you all that I intend to do and say at that time. First, I will eat much liquorice and gingerbread to strengthen my lungs, that I my extend my voice far and near; for no doubt great multitudes will come to witness the old Welsh judge's death. Then will I come with venerable Bracton's book hung on my left shoulder, the Statutes at large on my right shoulder, and the Bible with a ribbon put round my neck, hanging on my breast. I will then tell the people that I am brought there to die for being a traitor, and in the words of a dying man I will tell them that I wish all the traitors in the kingdom might come to my fate. But indeed I am no traitor; and the better to inform you that I am none, the House of Commons never thought me a traitor; for had they believed me such, they would have had me tried in a legal manner, according to the customs of this kingdom for a thousand years. For this cause they debarred me of my birthright—a trial by my peers, that is, by a jury;

because they well knew no honest jury would ever have found me guilty of treason for only being loyal and true to our lawful and rightful sovereign. But since they will have me a traitor, right or wrong, I thought it was but just to bring my counsellors with me, who have all along advised me in what I have done. Then shall I open Bracton to show them that the supreme power is in the king—the statute-book to read the oath of allegiance—the Bible to show them their duties to the lawful authority." (The judge, as he proceeded, read at full length the passages he referred to, and then continued his imaginary address.) "This book, these statutes, this holy and sacred volume, have all been my evil counsellors, and therefore shall be hanged with me! So when they shall see me die affirming such things, thousands will he incited to inquire farther into this matter; and having found all I told them to be true, they will learn to loathe and detest the present tyranny."

But, for the execution of this scheme—the most romantic, surely, that was ever conceived in a lawyer's brain—no opportunity was given. The House, in fact, comprised not a few men who understood the weight which the decisions of such a venerable expounder of the law would attach to their proceedings. A committee of members visited Judge Jenkins in Newgate, and offered, that if he would own the power of the parliament to be lawful, they would not only take off the sequestration from his estate, which was about £500 per annum, but would besides settle on him a life annuity of £1000. "Far be it from me," he answered, "to own rebellion, however successful, to be lawful; leave me."

The leader of the party persisted: he should enjoy the same, if he would only suffer them to print that he acknowledged their power to be lawful. "Not for all the money you have robbed the kingdom of," was the judge's indignant reply, "would I connive at your so doing. And should you impudently put any such matter in print, I would sell my doublet and coat, to buy pens, ink, and paper, to set forth the House of Commons in their proper colours." One argument yet remained to the tempters. "You have a wife and nine children, who will all starve, if you refuse this offer." "What! did they desire you to press me in this matter?" "I will not say they did; but I think they press you to it without speaking at all." The old man's anger was now raised to the highest pitch; and with an answer too vehement for these pages, but glowing with the incorruptible integrity of his soul, he rid himself of his tormentors. In various gaols, the Welsh judge continued, during eleven years, to suffer captivity, with the same constancy with which he expounded the violated laws of his country.

The surrender of so many garrisons brought large sums into Goldsmith's Hall, for compositions; a source of revenue which the needs of the victorious party induced them to encourage, though at the risk of surrounding themselves with royalists. The entire property of such among the king's friends as were expressly excepted from pardon, with that of other delinquents deemed incorrigible, was mercilessly confiscated. With reference to the practice of compounding for delinquency, so generally adopted, we find on record the following manly sentiments of Hyde: the passage occurs in a letter to Secretary

Nicholas. "I am very glad your patrons at London are constant in their unmercifulness to the excepted, among whom I will not leave my place to be listed amongst the compounders. For my part, let him want mercy that will ask or take it from them. I remember my old acquaintance Cato, when he was told that Cæsar had a desire to have friendship with him, and was willing to give him a pardon, grew into a passion, and said, he was a tyrant to offer him a pardon, for by it assumed to himself a power over the lives of the citizens of Rome. I assure you, Mr. Secretary, I will not receive a pardon from the king and parliament when I am not guilty; and when I am, I will receive it only from him who can grant it."

Besides the two great military commanders, whose rewards have been noticed, a long list of claims by the presbyterian leaders, upon the financial resources of the parliament, was at this time allowed. Waller was complimented with the title of a baron, with £2500 per annum. To Haslerigg and Stapleton was assigned, with the like rank, an income of £2000 per annum each. Sir William Brereton had an annuity of £1500 voted to him, and Skippon one of £1000; with many more.

Charles himself also was now numbered with the parliament's pensioners. The vote that consigned the sovereign to Holdenby, was accompanied with a grant of £50 per diem for the maintenance of his court. The Duke of York, on the invitation of the Houses, was brought to London, and consigned to the care of Northumberland (who had already two of the king's children in his charge), with an annuity, for his support, of £7000. But the same liberality does not appear to have been

extended to all the members of this unhappy family, now in their power. About the same day on which the duke was conducted to St. James's, the Lady Dalkeith, with whom the queen, when obliged to fly from Exeter, had left her infant daughter, secretly conveyed the princess from Oatlands (to which residence she had been taken on the surrender of that city, in April), leaving behind a statement of the causes of her flight: "After patiently expecting the pleasure of the parliament," she said, "she had found it impossible to obtain any justice to the princess, or favour to her highness, or her attendants." This lady was a person of spirit and magnanimity, and succeeded in safely transporting the little object of her loyal and affectionate anxiety to St. Germain's.

There, the pensioner of a government which had assisted in precipitating her husband's ruin,—surrounded by relations who had small ability, and less will, to afford her effectual assistance,—Henrietta kept up the flutter and intrigue of a court, without its dignity or magnificence. The disloyal assiduities of some of the nobles in her train, or her own anger and disappointment at the tremendous reverse in her fortunes, appear to have chilled the queen's affection towards her lord, and obliterated from her mind all regard for the country whose throne she had shared. Too indulgent to the lighter partners of her exile, she, at the same time, severely judged those measures which unexampled misfortune, or incessant importunity, had wrung from her afflicted husband. Davenant, to whose ill-judged embassy the king wanted patience to listen, hinted that the queen had thoughts of retiring into a monastery. The nerve of conjugal tender-

ness instantly quivered. To the envoy he made, on this point, no reply; but in his next letter to his correspondents at St. Germain's, he thus distressingly alludes to the suggestion: "This, if it fall out, (which God forbid!) is so destructive to all my affairs—I say no more of it—my heart is too big; the rest being fitter for your thoughts than my expression. In another way I have mentioned this to the queen (my grief being the only thing I desire to conceal from her, with which I am as full now as I can be without bursting), commanding you to remember her to answer me, and help to conceal my sorrow from her as much as may be." The little court of Henrietta received, at this time, an important addition by the arrival of the Prince of Wales. In the orders issued by Charles, providing for the prince's safety, he had directed, that in case expatriation were found inevitable, the heir to the British throne should be placed under the care of his royal mother, "in all things except religion." But the council whom he had placed about the prince, in the exercise of that discretion with which they were invested, wished rather to retain him in Jersey. Their authority, however, was overruled by the positive command of the queen; and, against the strenuous protest of Capel and Hyde, the royal youth was transferred, under the care of Digby, Jermyn, and Wentworth, to a court from which his cause received no political benefits, to countervail the moral mischief of implanting in an apt disposition those seeds of libertinism and irreligion, by the growth of which England was afterwards corrupted and degraded.

CHAPTER X.

HOLDENBY.

THE authors of this great revolution were far from enjoying quiet satisfaction in their successes. The continuance of an unmitigated burden of taxation upon the people, while the individuals in power had grown rich at the public cost; the intolerant yet inadequate character of the new church establishment; the delay of an agreement with the king; the maintenance of a large military force in the heart of the kingdom, preying upon its resources, and diffusing around its own lawless and fanatical spirit, while not an enemy was to be seen or feared: these, and similar grievances, were beginning to cloud the popularity of the parliament. The citizens of London, once wholly subservient to their wishes, now ruffled the sittings of the houses with petition upon petition, for the disbanding of the army, and the settlement of the kingdom. Rejected, as interfering with the privileges of the supreme authority in the nation, these remonstrances were repeated in stronger terms, and presented at the doors with insolence and menace. Ordered to be publicly burnt in Westminster and at the Exchange, they were succeeded by others more formidable, from the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, and by disturbance and violence

in the metropolis. In the midst of these marks of disaffection without, the discords in the parliament itself, between the independent and presbyterian factions, though prudently permitted, on both sides, to slumber till the retirement of the Scottish army, were in reality becoming more than ever profound and unappeasable. The chase was over; the rich quarry lay bleeding at the feet of the hunters: but no principle, besides the robber law of the strongest, presided over the distribution of the spoil. To which side, on that principle, appertained the lion's share, was the grand question now waiting to be decided.

At present, the superiority appeared wholly on the side of the presbyterians. In numerical strength, that party had at no time ceased to have greatly the advantage, notwithstanding the open evasion, in recent elections, of the self-denying ordinance. Late events had likewise conspired to restore their pristine courage and enthusiasm. The sovereign, by putting himself in the power of the Scots, had, in effect, thrown the weight of his personal importance into the presbyterian scale. His misfortunes, and the magnanimity with which he bore them, were, however, beginning to soften many bosoms that had been steeled against him in the days of his prosperity. The war was at an end; but its professed objects appeared to be as remote as ever. To what purpose had the people suffered and bled? If for nothing, or worse than nothing, then better were it the nation retraced its steps; better to endure the blows of the less ignoble arm, and to be at least able to claim the grace of submission to authority based on law, and venerable from prescription, than to be

dragged at the fierce heels of power sprung from rebellion. Such thoughts tended to strengthen that party which was known to be the more placable towards the king; and, though obstinately bent on maintaining the supremacy of their discipline in the church, willing, in other respects, to retain the forms, with a portion of the efficiency, of the ancient national institutions. In deepening and diffusing these impressions, the disbanded royalists, now everywhere mingled with the people, naturally aided; but in their origin they were the genuine growth of the popular mind. The indications of their existence were too plain to be either overlooked or mistaken by the independents. Contrary to the natural temper of that party, they seem, for a space, to have been daunted. Unusual wariness and reserve clouded the countenance and darkened the language of Vane: Cromwell, perhaps doubtful for a moment of his course, appeared more than ever inscrutable. The death of Essex, which happened in this conjuncture, was fortunate for the independent faction, but the joy occasioned by this event was carefully dissembled. All the members of both houses, with the whole of the officers, civil and military, then in London, attended the magnificent funeral with which the parliament honoured the remains of their late general. On some minor occasions, an uncontrollable burst of the republican spirit escaped; as when the arguments of the Scots, in support of their right to dispose of the king's person, were seized in the printer's hands, and ordered to be publicly burnt; but, with a few such exceptions, it was by presbyterian influence that the houses, and, consequently, the nation, were governed,

during Charles's detention at Newcastle and at Holdenby.

The army was therefore to be employed for securing a farther succession of victories. Its exploits in war were now to be paralleled by its achievements in policy; the foe, the weapons, and the warfare, all changed, only the leaders the same. But the discipline required to this end was not now to be begun. The army may be said to have been, at this time, completely the creature and the tool of that great military and political genius, Cromwell. Ever since the institution of the New Model, its whole structure had presented merely an amplification of the regiment originally raised, disciplined, and commanded by the strenuous member for Cambridge. Those veterans from the various corps then disbanded, whose habits of discipline, daring temper, and free religious opinions, assimilated them to the lieutenant-general's own character, and fitted them for his purposes, were selected to fill the ranks of the new army. With these were incorporated, from time to time, such prisoners, taken from the king's armies and garrisons, and recommended by similar qualifications, as either were indifferent whether they acknowledged for master the king or the parliament, or judged the service of the latter a more free and promising field for the display of their experience and valour. Religious, the parent of political republicanism, had from the first been the Cromwellian creed. The army under Essex had been attended by a regular and competent band of chaplains, puritan or presbyterian; but of these divines, few joined that under Fairfax, and those who did, were soon driven away by the insolence of the

soldiery, and the manifest inutility of their own labours. In the new reign of religious freedom, there was no lack of those gifts which were regarded as superseding, not ordination merely, but education. All could dispute; and their disputing, writes Baxter, was with as much fierceness as if they had been ready to second every argument with the sword; most could pray in public, some with surprising fluency and unction; many could preach, and exercised their talents in this way in a style highly popular and attractive. The officers, of whom the greater part had been raised from the ranks, were selected by Cromwell for promotion, from regard to these, no less than to their military qualifications; and the leader himself, as became his station, excelled in all such accomplishments of the theological profession. It is not surprising, that an army so constituted should affect to repudiate the term "common soldiers." From the time, when, in consequence of the extinction of the king's forces, such habits had, through leisure and encouragement, become universal, they no longer regarded themselves individually as subject to the ordinary rules of military subjection, nor collectively as the servants of the parliament. As "privates" (such was the term then introduced into our language) they were entitled to the consideration of gentlemen, as well as to the rights of citizens; as an army, they began to consider themselves in the light of an independent estate in the realm. This army, so fiercely energetic in itself, so powerful as an instrument, Cromwell, its creator, governed with absolute mastery; all below him were his tools: the one man nominally above him, was, by his own confession, not

less so than others. Policy at present demanded that the hand which moved the wires should be concealed, and Cromwell, in hourly communication with the camp, devoted his time to assiduous attendance in his place at Westminster; covering all his schemes with the general's authority, and putting forward, in public acts and documents emanating from himself and his subordinates, the popular name of Fairfax.

It had become evident to the presbyterian leaders that their own existence as a party, no less than the public safety and convenience, demanded the disbanding of the now useless army. They resolved to reduce it to a peace establishment of five thousand horse, with a sufficient force of infantry to occupy a few reserved garrisons, after the greater part of those in existence should be dismantled; and, at the same time, with a view to destroy the dangerous authority of Cromwell and Ireton, it was voted that, with the exception of Fairfax, no officer should be retained of higher rank than that of colonel, and that no member of the Commons should hold a commission. Hardly was it to be thought, however, that a force so framed, conscious of its own power and the weakness of its nominal masters, would at once bow submissively to their vote for its annihilation; that the ambitious soldier, whom the service had raised to distinction, would willingly return to his obscure and laborious employment in civil life; or that, holding himself entitled to public gratitude and reward, he would endure to be dismissed in silence, and even in arrear of his ordinary wages. As an inducement to compliance, the discharged officers and men were invited to join the

force destined to carry on the war in Ireland; but very few offered for that service, although the popular Skippon was prevailed upon to accept the command. The independents now saw that the season had arrived for acting with energy and decision. By their instigation, the army began to draw towards London, and fixed its quarters in the county of Essex. A remonstrance, in the form of a petition to the general, to be presented by him to the House of Commons, was adopted by unanimous consent; in which it was required that the parliament should pass an ordinance providing legal indemnity to the soldiers for their conduct during the war, the payment of their arrears, exemption from impressment for foreign service, compensation for the maimed, pensions for the widows and families of those who had perished, and weekly pay as long as they should remain embodied. The parliament immediately instructed the general to put a stop to the petition, and to suppress those conferences in the army from which it had emanated; and issued a declaration, admonishing the subscribers to desist, on pain of receiving punishment as enemies to the state, and disturbers of the public peace. This magisterial tone was exactly what the promoters of the movement most desired to call forth. Loud murmurs followed from the army. The general, willing to obey his masters, but sympathizing with his companions in arms, and deceived by their leaders, acted with easy vacillation. A commission from the two houses, in support of his authority, proceeded to the head-quarters of the army at Walden; but, so far from effecting their object, they were witnesses to the preparation of a second remonstrance, in defence of

the former, and signed by the officers, who now openly took part with the men in these seditious demonstrations. In fact, the whole army had by this time been completely organized for political purposes; and had with this view constituted within itself two deliberative bodies, to consider and conduct its affairs; a council of officers, in imitation of the House of Peers, and a popular assembly, consisting of deputies from each regiment, chosen chiefly from the non-commissioned officers. The members of this mimic House of Commons it was, to whom was given the name of *adjutators* (afterwards, by an expressive corruption, changed to *agitators*), a word, in our times, well known. In this second remonstrance, the officers denied the justice of the term "seditious" applied to the former; maintained, that by bearing arms as soldiers for the common liberties, they had not, as citizens, forfeited their own; and vindicated, in lofty terms, the right of petitioning, as emphatically claimed for the subject in the declarations of the houses themselves. With the remonstrance was likewise presented a letter addressed to Fairfax by the agitators, similar in purport, but couched in bolder language, declaring their intention to enforce that redress for which the officers petitioned. It was brought by three subaltern officers or troopers, Sexby, Allen, and Sheppard; who, through the intervention of Skippon, made their way to the bar of the Commons, and performed their errand "with wonderful confidence."

The parliament, by what Whitelocke acknowledges to have been a course of retributive justice, began now to experience the evils of that tumultuous and irregular mode of petitioning, which they themselves formerly had

encouraged against the king. Though not free from alarm, they had not yet their eyes open to the extent of their danger, or to discern the hand which was to hurl them from that sphere, where, in the language of the agitators, they had "sought to become masters, and to degenerate into tyrants." Resolving not to depart from their purpose to disband the army, they now endeavoured to carry it by concession. First, two months' pay was to be advanced to the disbanded soldiers; then, security was added for the remainder, with a promise of an ordinance of indemnity against pressing, and to provide for the maimed and widows. Deceived by the marvellous dissimulation of Cromwell, who asserted in his place, that, notwithstanding appearances, the army was ready to conform to every thing parliament should ordain, and that he would undertake for its entire submission and obedience; the houses directed the wily lieutenant-general, and the other general officers in London, to undertake the business of mediation. Thus was fuel doubly added to the flame. The demands of men, united in powerful combinations, always are found to rise in the proportion of those concessions, which, by inspiring terror, they are enabled to extort. Moreover, Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, the officers whom the house had the infatuation to send down, were supplied by this circumstance with an opportunity, clear from all suspicion, of fostering the mutiny which their machinations had begun. In compliance, however, with the order of the houses, they announced to the assembled military legislature the votes passed in favour of the army, and acquainted them that they were come to settle "the

distempers in the army." "We know of no distempers," exclaimed the representative tribunes; "but we do know of many grievances, and of these we demand immediate redress." In the end, Fairfax, who, on pretence of ill health, had likewise absented himself, was desired to repair to his post. He carried with him the promised ordinance of indemnity, and an ordinance for the payment of arrears for eight weeks; accompanied, however, with a confirmation of the previous orders of the parliament to proceed, without delay, in the business of disbanding. Instead of yielding obedience to his instructions, he, on arriving at Bury St. Edmund's, to which place his head-quarters had been removed, communicated them to the council of officers; who resolved, that they were wholly insufficient to satisfy the soldiers, and immediately began to draw the divisions together to consult what was next to be done for the common interest and safety.

Meantime, the king was surrounded with every mark of deference and respect, consistent with a state of strict captivity. All approach of strangers to the royal presence was forbidden, except to those who bore the parliament's order. No attendants were allowed, but such as the commissioners appointed or approved; no correspondence was permitted, unless through their hands. A portion of his time the king spent in study and devotion—the solitary devotion of his chamber; for the houses, in answer to an earnest appeal to them to permit Sheldon and another royal chaplain to come to him, confirmed the refusal of the commissioners, and Charles refused, in turn, the services of Marshall and Caryl, the two presbyterian divines. He even precluded grace from

being said in his presence, after the puritan fashion, by himself dexterously anticipating the commissioner's chaplains when rising for that purpose. But this discountenance he softened, by treating them with marked, general courtesy. He had, indeed, acquired an affability of deportment which, in his happier years, was wanting; and which, combined with his cheerful patience in misfortune, effected a thorough revolution in the breasts of many of his enemies. In his walks in the gardens of the fine old mansion at Holdenby, he had always one of the commissioners by his side; and when the choice fell on Lord Pembroke, Charles patiently accommodated his naturally quick movements to the feeble steps of his companion. His attentions to the old earl, when the latter was confined by illness, were almost filial. General Brown, another of the commissioners, allowed his republican antipathies to be wholly subdued by the king's civilities; a dereliction of principle for which "the woodmonger," as Brown was called, incurs the bitter reproach of Ludlow.

Charles's habitual temperance and self-government being now seconded by regularity in exercise and recreations, he enjoyed in his seclusion uninterrupted good health. He rode frequently, and played at his favourite game of bowls, commonly on the neighbouring green at Althorp. An office of some difficulty to the guards in attendance on the king, was, to keep off the people, who thronged about him for the purpose of receiving the royal touch. The House of Commons, to put an end to this inconvenience, "ordered a declaration to be drawn up, to inform the people of the superstition of being

touched by the king for the evil." The king's gaolers were not always successful in intercepting his correspondence. One day, in passing a narrow bridge on the way to Althorp, a packet of letters from France was put into Charles's hand by a person in the dress of a countryman. The man was seized; and acknowledging himself to be Colonel Bosville, formerly an officer in the royal service, he was sent up to be examined before the Commons, and was by them committed to Newgate. On another occasion, a lady was apprehended in a similar attempt. By such incidents only—trivial in the view of the historian, but important in the estimation of a captive, though a king—was Charles's residence at Holdenby externally varied. What a contrast to these trifles, must, in spite of his "unparalleled patience," have been presented, could the observer have looked upon the mind within! What stirring remembrances of the past had stood then revealed; what anxious thoughts, alternating between hope and fear, regarding the future! Upon the king's writing-table still lay the Newcastle propositions. On the requisitions of that appalling document, not a word had since reached him from the parliament. At length, as he had promised, he wrote a more detailed answer; and his letter, on this occasion, as being exclusively his own composition, transcribed with his own hand, enforces respect for its ability, and excites emotion by its pathos. It contains concessions which must have cost him, in his solitude, many sighs. He would confirm (he said) the presbyterian church government for three years; for ten years would surrender the power of the sword; would agree to legalize the parliament's great seal, and all the acts to which it

had been applied; and would give satisfaction with respect to Ireland.

In this manner more than three months had passed, when, one day, Charles, attended by the commissioners, and by Colonel Graves, the officer in command of the guard, being on the bowling-green at Althorp, a strange soldier was observed to mingle with the spectators. Graves, struck by the man's scrutinizing manner, as well as by his uniform, questioned him. The soldier answered in a tone of confidence and freedom. He inveighed, in the religious phraseology of Fairfax's camp, against the parliament, and confirmed a report already current at Holdenby, that a body of cavalry was in the neighbourhood. The colonel was startled. He communicated his apprehensions to the king, and Charles quitted the ground in the midst of vague but general alarm. In his way back to Holdenby, he called to mind, that, some weeks before, in April, an officer had found means secretly to deliver a proposal to him, in the name of the army, that he would suffer himself to be conducted to the general's quarters, when they would restore him to his honour, crown, and dignity. He answered, that he should always retain a lively sense of the army's proposal, but that he would not take a step, the effect of which must be again to light up the flames of civil war.

That night the guard was doubled at Holdenby House. An hour before midnight, was heard the clash and clatter of armed horsemen. A party of troopers drew up before the gates. Graves and Brown, going out to them, inquired who commanded. "We all command," was

the reply. At the same moment a soldier advanced: it was the same individual who had caused the alarm at Althorp. "Your name, and business here?" demanded the officers. "Joyce, a cornet in Whalley's regiment, and my business is to speak with the king." "From whom?" "From myself." The officers laughed. "It is no laughing matter," continued Joyce; I demand to speak with the king." "Stand to your arms within there!" cried Graves. But the guard, perceiving that party outside were their comrades and friends, unbarred the gates and doors, and they all shook hands together. While this was doing, the colonel silently disappeared. Some others of the commissioners, who now advanced, held the cornet in discourse until they were enabled to allege that it was too late an hour—the king had retired to rest. But Joyce was not to be denied: he would deliver his errand with all possible gentleness and respect, but speak with the king he must, and presently. He then placed sentinels, and, proceeding upstairs, knocked loudly at the back entrance to the king's chamber. The grooms of the bedchamber, who answered this strange summons, started at seeing before them the burly figure of the trooper, a perfect model of his class, well armed, and presenting a cocked pistol, with a bold but not insolent air of authority, sufficiently characteristic of his present business, but by no means suggesting his original occupation of a tailor. They asked if the commissioners approved of his intrusion. Joyce bluntly answered, "No! I have set a guard at their chamber doors, and have my orders from those that fear them not." This altercation woke the king, who rang his silver bell, and, after some

consideration, commanded his singular visitor to be admitted. The cornet, on entering, apologized with more courtesy than his exterior promised, for having disturbed the king out of his sleep. "No matter," replied Charles, "if you mean me no hurt: you may take away my life if you will, having the sword in your hands." Joyce solemnly protested that he was come, in the name of the army, to protect his majesty's person. "Mr. Joyce," continued the king, "will you, if I consent, engage for two things —that I shall not be forced against my conscience, and that I shall be treated as my condition requires, and be free to see my friends?" To these demands the cornet replied with an explicit frankness so satisfactory to the king, that, by this time, Charles had dismissed all apprehension, and appeared pleased with this extraordinary adventure. "I will willingly go along with you," he concluded, "if your fellow soldiers will confirm what you have promised;" and the arch-agitator took his departure, with the king's assurance that he would be ready at six o'clock the next morning to hear their determination.

When morning came, the king, surrounded by the astonished commissioners, appeared at the door of the mansion, where Joyce, with his detachment of fifty mounted troopers, stood drawn up in the court, ready to receive him. The cornet advanced with the mien of a great general. Charles demanded, what authority he had to secure his person? "The soldiery of the army," replied Joyce. "That," objected Charles, "is no lawful authority: have you nothing in writing from Sir Thomas Fairfax? Deal with me ingenuously, Mr. Joyce. What commission have you?" "Here is my commission,"

answered Joyce; "here, behind me," pointing to his fifty troopers. The king glanced steadily along the line, and with a smile, said, "I never before read such a commission. But it is written in characters fair and legible enough—a company of as handsome proper gentlemen as I have seen a long while. But what if, nevertheless, I refuse to go with you? I am your king; I hope you would not force me. Give me, however, satisfaction on these reasonable points—that I may be used with due respect, and that I may not be forced in any thing against my conscience and honour; though I hope that my resolution is so fixed that no force can cause me to do a base thing. You are masters of my body, my soul is above your reach." The troopers signified their assent with acclamations, and Joyce added, that it was not their principle to force any man's conscience, least of all their king's: it was their enemies who used that practice.

The commissioners now stepping forward, one of them, Lord Montague, addressed the soldiers, holding up before them a paper. "Here," said he, "are our instructions from the parliament, to keep the king at Holdenby. We protest against his Majesty's removal, and desire to know whether you agree to what Mr. Joyce has said and done?" With one voice they cried, "All, all!" Major Brown observed, that it was not the first time that he had been at the head of a party, and that he durst affirm, though they cried "All, all!" that scarce two in the company knew what had passed. "Let all," he continued, raising his voice, "who are willing the king should stay with the commissioners of parliament, now speak." The men unanimously exclaimed, "None!

None!" "Then," said the major, "I have done." The soldiers answered, "We understand well enough what we do." Joyce now inquired to what place the king desired to go? "To Newmarket." What distance would he choose to ride that day? "Oh," replied Charles, smiling, "I can ride as far as you, or any man here." And the party, including the commissioners, set forward, under the direction of the adventurous cornet.

The news of this astonishing exploit, with the menacing attitude and unanimous spirit of the army, struck terror into the presbyterians. They perceived the unsubstantial nature of their parliamentary majority, and the imminent peril which threatened them. Convinced that they were no match for those intrepid disciples of the school of Machiavel, whose work they had been doing, they ordered, in abject alarm, the immediate payment of all arrears due to the army, and expunged the obnoxious vote against its petition from their journals.

CHAPTER XI.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE ARMY.

THE army's head quarters had been removed to Newmarket. Fairfax was with some of his officers, in the neighbourhood of that place, when a private soldier, riding suddenly up, acquainted him with the seizure of the king; at which the general testified such unaffected surprise, as, when confirmed by his subsequent assertions, must remove all suspicion of his privity to the design of Joyce. Returning instantly into the town, he met Cromwell. The lieutenant-general had just alighted from his horse, having ridden all night, after attending a late sitting of the Commons, in which, by force of tears and protestations, he had so thoroughly convinced the House of the sincerity, and the success, of his efforts to reduce the mutinous troops to obedience, that some of the members exclaimed, "He deserved a statue of gold for his great services." Fairfax immediately despatched Whalley, with his regiment, to take charge of the king, to prevent his advance to Newmarket, and, if possible, to induce him to return to Holdenby. The commissioners, whom Whalley besought to second this request, declined to interfere, on the plea that the king had been forcibly taken out of their hands; and Charles himself,

when appealed to, absolutely refused. It was at Childerley, in Cambridgeshire, near the house of Sir John Cutts, that the parties had encountered; and in that hospitable mansion it was finally agreed that the sovereign should take up his temporary abode.

On the following day, Fairfax, attended by Cromwell, Ireton, and the other general officers, waited on the king. They were received by him in the garden; where this band of victor-courtiers (all kneeling down, except Cromwell and the general) kissed the hand from which they had successively wrung the sceptre and the sword. Charles inquired, whether it was by the general's orders that he had been brought from Holdenby? Fairfax solemnly denied his concurrence in the design. Cromwell also vehemently protested, that the scheme had been executed without his knowledge: yet we are assured, that at the house of that arch-deceiver the plot had been contrived, and that the individuals chosen for its execution were exclusively at his command. "Unless you hang up Joyce," said the king, "I cannot believe you." The cornet was sent for, to answer for himself. He repeated, in substance, what he had told the king at Holdenby, respecting his authority, and offered to appeal to the army in a general rendezvous. "If three, or even four parts of the army," said the spirited agitator, "do not approve of what I have done, I am content to be hanged at the head of my regiment." Charles reiterated his conviction, that Joyce would not have ventured on so audacious a measure, "without the countenance of great persons;" and Fairfax, who expressed his determination to bring the offender before a court-martial, found himself

baffled by an influence stronger than the general's orders.

The king had flattered himself, that the stroke of policy by which he had been transferred from the custody of the parliament to that of the now rival power, had received the general's sanction; for he reposed on the personal honour of Fairfax. He had now the means of being undeceived; but the buoyant faith of Charles clung to its object, and he appears still to have regarded the general as, at the least, looking on with tacit connivance; while the dexterous manœuvre itself he considered as only the first step of the army towards realizing its friendly intentions. When Fairfax came to take his leave, he intimated privately to his sovereign his sincere desire to serve him. The king replied, "Sir, I have as good interest in the army as yourself." The general was astonished, and distressed. "By this," he says, "I plainly saw what broken reed he leaned on." Towards Joyce the king testified no displeasure; on the contrary, he seems to have taken rather a liking to the cornet's conversation.

But the king's spirits must naturally have been raised, and his expectations excited, by the mere change in his immediate circumstances. He had suddenly emerged from the gloom of a total, cheerless seclusion from his people, as well as from his personal friends. At Newmarket, whither his desire to proceed was gratified, he found himself surrounded, not merely with formal respect, but with looks of intense though mingled interest, with shouts of gratulation, and with the long-unheard language of attachment. His friends and domestics, "the old familiar faces," were now freely admitted to his

presence. In spite of remonstrance from the parliament (who, even in the peril and degradation to which they were reduced, would not bate one jot of their intolerance), the voice of piety, heard in the solemn tones of his revered parent the Church of England, from the lips of Sheldon and Hammond, once more hallowed his dwelling. Cambridge sent forth her masters, her fellows, and rejoicing students, with shouts of "*Vivat Rex*," to congratulate him. The neighbouring counties poured their gentry and people through the thronged presence-chamber, when the king dined or supped. In the enjoyment of his favourite exercises, tennis or riding, he forgot that he was a captive. His public progress with the army was preceded by an officer of rank, who rode bareheaded before him, as if in a festival procession; the streets, as he passed, were fragrant with garlands, strewn in his path; to the prayers and acclamations of the people, and the troops, he was permitted to reply, in terms of familiar condescension, without the interference even of a suspicious and disapproving look.

But the present elation of the royal mind had a farther excuse. Charles's presbyterian gaolers, even more unfeeling than disloyal, treated the sovereign with some degree of cold respect, but were wholly regardless of the father. When formerly he had besought the parliament to restore to him his children, the heartless answer was, that "they could take as much care at London, both of their bodies and souls, as could be done at Oxford!" The same request, urged by an approving letter from Fairfax, *now* met with a different reception. Northumberland was ordered to take his interesting charge, the Dukes of

York and Gloucester, and their gentle sister, the princess Elizabeth, to pass two days with their royal father. This meeting between the king and his children, after an eventful separation, took place at Caversham, while the army was advancing towards London; and the indulgence, so grateful to Charles, was frequently repeated after his arrival at Hampton Court. On this occasion, a yet louder burst of public interest demonstrated that the people were still the *English* people, and still felt as the king's subjects. Even the ambiguous Cromwell appears to have been subdued by the view of family endearment, presented in this reunion, to some sense of awakening loyalty,—unless we admit human nature to be indeed capable of a degree of dissimulation so intense, as, on any other hypothesis, would be requisite to explain his behaviour. Meeting at Caversham with Sir John Berkley, he told that honest loyalist, that he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld; which was the interview between the king and his children. "And then," says Berkley, "he wept plentifully at the remembrance of it, saying, that never man was so abused as he had been in his sinister opinion of the king, who he now thought was the most conscientious and upright man in the kingdom; concluding with this wish, that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart toward the king."

Charles himself, sensible of the dangers which still surrounded him, and acutely alive, both as a sovereign and as a parent, to the honour and welfare of his family, availed himself of the more private opportunities which the visits of his children supplied, earnestly to address

them on the subject of their duties and probable destinies. The Duke of York was at this time about fourteen years of age; the princess a year or two younger; the Duke of Gloucester an intelligent child of seven years. On these objects of his tenderness, doubly endeared by the sad peculiarity of their circumstances, he impressed his solemn counsel and injunctions. His own fate, he told them, he looked upon as full of peril and uncertainty. He was at present wholly in the power of the army, from whose custody his enemies in the parliament were quite unable to withdraw him. But what the real designs of his new masters were, he could not discern. He hoped well, yet with much fear and doubt. He therefore reminded them all of the affection and duty they owed to the prince, their brother; and recommended them to prepare for the probability of a darker turn of his affairs to succeed the present gleam of prosperity. To the Duke of York he spoke with peculiar earnestness, not only as he was the eldest, but because his name had already been whispered as the watch-word of a treasonable project, by some of the independents, who, uniting with the king's most violent enemies in the wish to put him aside, were yet unprepared for the doubtful experiment of a commonwealth. He put the youth solemnly in mind of his allegiance to the Prince of Wales, in case of his own death; and commanded him, that if a change should occur in the behaviour of the army, and his children and friends should be again debarred from approaching him, he should endeavour to make his escape, and place himself under the protection of his brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange. The like injunction, never to

allow himself to be made king, unless he should arrive at the throne by the previous removal of his father and his brothers, Charles likewise laid upon the little Gloucester. With the Princess Elizabeth, a child of uncommon sensibility and quickness of understanding, the king took great delight in conversing. On the one point in which he relieved her from submission and obedience to her royal mother, viz. in religion, he had the gratification to discover in her a degree both of knowledge and of firmness, unusual at her years. The subject of religion was that with which, on each repetition of his counsels, the king concluded. He enjoined them all alike to persevere, against all entreaty and opposition, in the profession of that form of Christianity in which they had been educated, "what discountenance and ruin soever might befall the poor church." That these admonitory discourses were heard by his little group of serious and wondering listeners with a devout purpose to obey, the king felt a natural but just assurance. Nor was it long before their obedience began to be put to a practical test: a few months afterwards, the Duke of York, under the care of Colonel Bamfield, a gentleman employed for that purpose by the king, made his escape from St. James's, and, in female attire, crossed safely into Holland.

The brightness, which, at that moment, shone on Charles's prospects, proved, as he foresaw, transient and deceptive. Under the management of Cromwell and Ireton, the army had grown to be a republic. "The agitators had become masters of their masters." In the military legislature, the upper house, or council of officers, continued

indeed to be governed absolutely by the lieutenant-general and his adroit son-in-law; but the council of agitators had views of their own, and, aware of their strength and importance, were resolved to pursue them. These views appear to have been at that time consistent with their notions of loyalty. They had foiled the presbyterians; they were charmed with the honour and influence conferred on the army by the king's residence among them; and, as far as their rude habits and independent mode of thinking allowed, were willing to return to the obedience of subjects. It had been always the policy of Cromwell, to throw himself headlong into each current of faction, as it successively rose to supreme influence; to appear at the head of every movement; to outstrip the foremost partizans. Ever keeping in view his own ambitious ends, he employed indifferently all men, and all methods, to promote them. "When," observes Berkley, "he thought the parliament would make his fortune, he resigned himself totally to them; when the presbyterians prevailed, he took the covenant; when he quitted the parliament, his chief dependence was on the army, which he endeavoured by all means to keep in unity; and if he could not bring it to his sense, he, rather than suffer any division in it, went over himself, and carried his friends with him into that way which the army chose." The idol of the army was, for the moment, the king. To affect an earnest loyalty, therefore, was now his business; and such was the energy, and, at the same time, the flexibility of this wonderful man's nature, that by conforming, not his words and demeanour only, but his thoughts and will, to this pretence, he, for the time,

really became so; could drop tears (not *altogether* "crocodile's tears") profusely, on the sovereign's hand, while he kissed it in token of dutiful affection; and could blame the business-like delays of Ireton, in drawing up those proposals of the army, which were to be the means of restoring the king to his power and dignities. On his first experience of the feeling which prevailed among the military, Charles himself may have been deluded—may have forgotten the transitory and variable nature of those impressions which sway the multitude, or may have mistaken, for genuine dispositions to serve him, the feigned loyalty and calculated respect of Cromwell and his friends. But the tact of the sovereign, long habituated to judge of professions—the diffident temper, rendered suspicious by having been often betrayed—quickly resumed their empire: coldness, reserve, aversion, succeeded. He began to regard the advances made to him, the deference with which he was approached, and those more liberal terms on which the army was disposed to close with him, than had been offered by the presbyterians, as only so many results of their conviction of his importance to their own interests. While moving in accordance with the movements of the army, he shunned the sight of those republican cohorts who had annihilated the splendid ranks of his cavaliers. He listened to the emissaries of the Scots and the presbyterians; and, in fine, by his coldness towards the officers, and his manifest confidence in his own ability, in that trembling equipoise of the two great parties, to adjust the balance as he pleased, he drew from the acute and fearless Ireton that plain remark, the best summary extant of the actual

state of parties at the time—"Sir, you have an intention to be the arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be arbitrators between your majesty and the parliament."—It is requisite, however, to return, and slightly trace those steps by which the military leaders placed themselves in a position amply to realize the purpose thus avowed.

At a general rendezvous in the vicinity of Newmarket, the army declared, in a solemn engagement, subscribed by all the officers and soldiers, that the late votes of the parliament were insufficient, and that they would not disband till they were satisfied: they then immediately began their march towards London. In fact, it was not their intention to be satisfied. It was said, not long afterwards, by Cromwell, "that he knew nothing to the contrary, but that he was as well able to govern the country as Stapleton and Hollis," the heads of the presbyterian faction; and already the army, inspired by *the spirit of Cromwell*, despised those concessions which merely tended to redress actual grievances, and remove just grounds of complaint. They looked much farther: they had schemes for the settlement of the kingdom, which they intended should supplant those of the imbecile presbyterians. At every step in their advance towards the capital, some fresh petition or remonstrance was issued. Superintended by Cromwell, and shaped by the acute legal pens of Ireton and Lambert, these successive proclamations revealed, by degrees, the ulterior designs of their authors. The contest was the more alarming for the parliament, because, not only was that assembly divided into two parties (of which one, and a very powerful one, though

a minority, supported the demands of the army), but the nation itself was also, in like manner, divided. In reply to petitions against the army, sent up to the parliament by several counties, a greater number of counties, by their petitions and addresses, threw themselves directly upon the army for protection. In the metropolis, likewise, petition and counter-petition succeeded to each other. While one party called upon the houses to appease the soldiery by fresh concessions, another was plotting to compel them to resist all farther demands. In the meantime, the army advanced, successively, to St. Alban's, to Watford, to Uxbridge; the soldiers crying out as they marched: "Justice! justice!" The affrighted parliament ordered out the city militia for their defence, with Skippon, in his ancient office of major-general, as commander. At the same time they acquainted Fairfax with such farther votes in favour of his legions, as the contending factions at Westminster could agree to adopt. But the army had, by this time, resolved on means more direct and characteristic for harmonizing their designs with the votes of a parliamentary majority. In a declaration, addressed to both houses, they required that steps might be taken to disqualify all persons who had acted in opposition to the military; that the House of Commons should (according to a well-known and expressive term) be "purged" of individuals disqualified to sit; and, in particular, that eleven members, whom the declaration denounced by name, should be excluded, until, by due course of law, they had been cleared from certain charges which the army was preparing to prove against them. The members impeached were, Hollis,

G Cattermole

S Bull

Glyn, Stapleton, Maynard, and the other chief leaders of the presbyterian side; the charge imported that these persons had interfered with the rights and liberties of the nation, and, in particular, had endeavoured to embroil the army and the parliament. That fallen assembly, in which the spirit of Elliot, of Pym, and of Hampden, had once presided, instantly complied. The eleven accused members were encouraged by a vote for leave of absence, to withdraw; not one of all those voices being now heard in remonstrance, which had so clamorously sounded forth, when, not twenty thousand men in arms, but the king alone in person, claimed a less number of victims. The recent ordinance for providing for the defence of the capital, was annulled; a month's pay was granted to the soldiers in reward of their services, and an ordinance passed for raising £60,000 per month for the regular payment of the army, and for Ireland. So tamely was England transferred from a legislative, though illegal, government, to a military despotism! The presbyterian majority in the Commons, which had commonly numbered forty, was instantly exchanged for a majority, on the independent side, of nearly an equal amount. Yet, the defeated houses retained one mark at least of equality—their commissioners were permitted to meet those of the army, as on equal terms, to treat of an accommodation; they likewise obtained one concession—the retirement of the army, for some short space of time, to a greater distance from the capital.

An important point in this struggle, regarded the place of the king's residence. The parliament had passed a vote that he should be conducted to Richmond; and, with

this vote, Charles's own wishes concurred, as well from increasing distrust of the army, and a belief that his friends were strong in the capital, as from weariness at being dragged from place to place in compliance with the movements of a force, of which he ought to have been, but was not, the master. On this point, however, as on others, the parliament was obliged to yield; and on the removal of the army northward, he took possession of the Duke of Bedford's house at Woburn.

Among those royalists who came over to visit the king, on his falling into the hands of the army, was Sir John Berkley, a man of capacity, and distinguished as a soldier by his exertions in the royal cause at Exeter. Berkley was despatched by the queen, with the connivance of Cromwell and the other leaders, to aid the sovereign in his negotiations with the army. A treaty was immediately opened, the success of which was eagerly desired and promoted by the agitators and their clients; and, whether from temporizing compliance with the army, or with a real desire to restore the king, on their own conditions, to the throne, was no less zealously urged forward by Cromwell and Ireton, who, on their side, undertook its management. In the absence of all probability, that even the ambitious and far-reaching thoughts of the victor of Marston and Naseby had yet contemplated a military dictatorship as endurable in England; and with the knowledge that titles, honours, and emoluments were, in the event of an accommodation, to be showered on himself and his friends, we can hardly refuse to prefer the second hypothesis. At length Berkley was allowed to

peruse the rough draft of proposals "for the settlement of the nation," to be submitted to the king. To his practical, unfastidious mind, the demands of the army appeared moderate, in a degree beyond expectation. It seemed a great step towards the desired issue, that both parties, royalists and independents, were animated by a common hatred of the presbyterians. The plan proposed put the covenant and the liturgy on the same footing, abolishing all penalties for the neglect of either; but, while providing for liberty of conscience, it implicitly protected the church in all its legal rights. It modified in favour of the crown the article relating to the militia, as formerly proposed by the parliament, and it confined within the small number of seven those adherents of Charles who were not to be admitted to pardon. With these provisions, however, were inserted some others that savoured of their democratic origin; such as the reform of the House of Commons, by abolishing small boroughs, and augmenting the number of county members; by limiting the sittings of parliament within not less than one hundred and twenty, nor more than two hundred and forty days, and the duration of each particular parliament to two years. It was farther stipulated, that none of the king's friends should be allowed to sit in the next parliament. One entire night Berkley passed with Ireton in discussions on this momentous document. At the suggestion of the cavalier, the stern commissary-general consented to its modification in more than one point. And when, encouraged by Ireton's facility, Berkley proceeded to urge the omission of the article which excepted seven unnamed royalists from pardon, and that

which excluded the king's friends from the next parliament, Ireton offered such reasons for retaining them as candour could not easily refute. With respect to the first, he alleged, that, if after having proved victors in the war, the independents made no difference between their friends and their enemies, they would manifestly lie open to the charge of betraying their party, and to the suspicion of having sought their own private ends. On the second, he replied, "I confess that I should myself be afraid of a parliament in which the king's friends should have a majority. Let, however, the agreement be carried into effect; and if then it be found that your party and ours work cordially together, nothing can be easier than to obtain a farther modification in these particulars." He concluded by conjuring Berkley, as he tendered his royal master's welfare, to endeavour to prevail with him to accede to the proposals. Nor was Cromwell, seemingly, less favourably disposed. "In all my conferences with him," records Berkley, "I found no man, in appearance, so zealous for a speedy settlement as Cromwell; sometimes wishing that the king was more frank, and would not tie himself so strictly to narrow maxims; sometimes complaining of his son Ireton's slowness in perfecting the proposals, and his not accommodating them more to his majesty's sense."

Charles, however, on the contrary, was disappointed and displeased. In vain was it intimated by Berkley, that better terms could scarcely be expected from men "who had, through so great dangers and difficulties, acquired so great advantages;" that a crown so nearly lost must be thought cheaply retrieved on such conditions. The king

had other thoughts: the army, he said, could not stand without him; and he doubted not very shortly to see them glad to make larger concessions. In the midst of these conferences arrived Ashburnham, to share with Berkley in the labours and responsibilities of his mission —a man of another temper, courtly and fastidious, whose soft manners, and whose delicate and devoted, rather than judicious loyalty, had obtained for him an unusual share of the king's regard. The influence of this new counsellor, and, still more, the intercourse which Charles was now carrying on with the metropolis, confirmed him in his unfavourable view of the army's overture. Such was the disposition in which Ireton, and the other officers, found him on the day when the proposals were formally submitted for his concurrence. It was refused; and refused with the imprudent addition of ungracious and even scornful remarks. The military tribunes looked alternately on each other, and on the king's advisers, with mingled astonishment and regret. Referring to the first of the clauses already objected to by Berkley, the king declared, with repeated allusions to the case of Strafford, that no man should suffer for his sake; on the subject of religion, he said, that he would have the church established according to law. On the other side, it was alleged, that to obtain the re-establishment of the church was not the army's province; they deemed it sufficient for them to wave the point. "You cannot do without me," reiterated Charles. "Unless I sustain you, you must fall to ruin; and I will not afford you my support at so mean a price." Berkley, who knew the men he had to deal with, and regarded the crisis as decisive of his

sovereign's fate, here whispered Charles apart:—"Sir, you speak as if you had some secret strength and power that I do not know of; and, since your majesty has concealed it from me, I wish you had concealed it from these men also." The king seemed now to awake to self-recollection, as if from a dream. He strove to soften what had been said; but it was too late to recall the impression. Colonel Rainsborough, who, from the first, had shown himself averse to the treaty, was observed to have by this time withdrawn. Returning at speed to the army, he rushed into the council of agitators, then assembled in eager expectation of news from the conference, and delivered a report of what had passed, in terms, which, instantly transmitted from man to man, raised a general flame of indignation against the king.

The army was at the same time engaged in other important negotiations. A treaty with the parliament was now in the hands of the commissioners of the respective parties; with, however, on the side of the military, no purpose to bring it to a close, before the success of a farther contemplated stroke of policy should have enabled them to dictate their own terms. This was, to wrest from the presbyterians the City of London; a weapon in their hands (with its slavish municipality, its turbulent citizens, and its swarms of disbanded soldiers) so formidable, that the more violent of that party were preparing, with its aid, seconded by the intrigues of their Scottish brethren, to set both parliament and army at defiance. When the army consented to remove farther from London, it did so, not in ignorance of this design, but rather because the leaders foresaw, that,

in the actual temper of the defeated presbyterians, a pretext would thereby sooner be supplied for the occupation of the capital. As a preparatory step they now required that the militia should be re-transferred to the friends of the independents. The parliament complied, and passed an ordinance to that effect; but presently found their doors beset by tumultuous crowds of petitioners, who demanded its instant repeal, together with the restoration of the eleven impeached members. A new "solemn league and covenant" was, at the same time, exposed for subscription, containing an oath of allegiance to the sovereign, with a solemn engagement to restore him to his parliament against all opposition. It was, probably, from confidence in the success of this scheme, that Charles, too ready to be beguiled by every flattering prospect, had so peremptorily rejected the proposals of the army. The Earl of Lauderdale, the chief of the Scottish commissioners in London, had arrived at the general's head-quarters, to solicit the royal concurrence. Believing the rejection of their proposals to have been chiefly the effect of Scottish intrigue, the soldiers broke into the earl's bedchamber, ordered him to rise without delay, and, regardless of his plea as a commissioner from the Estates, compelled him to return to London without seeing the king. Meantime, information was brought of other and more violent proceedings in the capital. Subscription to the new engagement had been voted, by both houses, an act of treason against the nation. But this vote had served no other purpose than to inflame the popular disposition to violence and disorder. Troops had begun to be levied, and the cashiered

presbyterian officers, Waller, Massey, Pointz, and others, engaged for the defence of the city. A second petition was prepared, and attended on its presentation by a crowd of apprentices and citizens of the inferior class, supported by the discarded soldiery. The Commons delayed an answer, purposely protracting their debates, in hope to weary out the patience of the clamorous petitioners, who thronged the doors and windows, demanding, with loud and insolent menaces, that the house should proceed to vote. The imprisoned legislators, worn out by fatigue and alarm, consented to repeal the ordinance respecting the militia, and the vote condemning the engagement for the king. Taking advantage of a momentary subsidence of the tumult, caused by this compliance, the speaker, with a few of the more resolute members, now attempted to retire, but were thrust back with violence. The speaker was forcibly replaced in the chair by the rabble, and commanded to put the following resolution: "That the king be invited to come forthwith to London, with an assurance of honour, freedom, and safety." It was instantly passed, with a loud affirmative, avers Ludlow, from the more prudent time-servers in the assembly, but with his own no less emphatic negative. The members were then permitted to quit the house. On the following morning both houses met, and adjourned for three days; but in the interval, Manchester and Lenthall, the speakers, with the principal members of the independent party, and such others from the ranks of their opponents as declined irrevocably to compromise themselves with the stronger faction, withdrew to seek the protection of the army.

Fairfax had, by this time, reached Hounslow on his second approach towards the capital; and as the fugitive senators passed along the lines upon the heath, they were welcomed by the troops with loud gratulations. In the evening the whole number, consisting of eight peers and fifty-eight commoners, besides the two speakers, assembled in council at Sion House, and being joined by Fairfax, Cromwell, and the other general officers, entered into a solemn obligation "to live and die with the army." Here they were also joined by the serjeant-at-arms, and by others of the independent side; who reported that the two houses, finding themselves deserted by their speakers, had elected others in their room, and openly adopted the views of the presbyterians and the city; that the extorted vote, inviting the king to Westminster, had been confirmed; that every effort was made by raising and disciplining troops, and otherwise, to provide for the defence of the city; and that many royalists, making use of the king's name, were openly associated with the presbyterians. The importance of this last particular, in that doubtful conjuncture, could not escape the discerning mind of Cromwell. In whatever degree the king might have entitled himself to the lieutenant-general's indignation by his late behaviour, it was now no season to change his own policy or bearing. At this crisis he might be more than ever necessary. Cromwell, therefore, instantly despatched an express to the royal captive, entreating him that he would at least soften his rejection of the army's desires, by addressing a conciliatory letter to the general, in which he should disavow any connexion with the proceedings in the city, and should

farther throw out some general expressions of satisfaction at the treatment he had met with in the army, and of regret that he could not directly sanction their proposals.

A letter was accordingly drawn up; but Charles hesitated, and refused his signature until it had been three or four times debated. A whole day had been thus lost, when at length Berkley and Ashburnham were dismissed with it in charge. On the road they were met by messengers from Cromwell, urging dispatch. They hastened; but it was too late. The city, by turns assuming an attitude of defiance, and again crouching in the most abject terror, had finally sent a deputation with offers of submission, whose arrival at Sion House preceded the appearance of the royal letter. The gates of London were already thrown open, the forts on the line of communication were given up, Southwark occupied by a division under Rainsborough. Charles's useless messengers found neither Cromwell nor Ireton at hand to read the letter; all the grace, and therefore the utility, of which, had been lost by its unhappy delay. Those great officers ("grandees of the army," as they presently began to be styled) were, at that moment, occupied with greater affairs than the king's. The following day witnessed the triumphant entry of the independents into the capital. Fairfax on his charger, preceded by Hammond's regiment of foot, and Rich's and Cromwell's regiments of cavalry, and surrounded by his bodyguards and a crowd of gentlemen, headed the procession. A train of carriages succeeded, in which were the speakers and the seceding members, now regarded as constituting

exclusively the parliament. The long line was closed by Tomlinson's regiment of horse. In this order, the victorious march was continued to Westminster, the conquerors, as they passed through Hyde Park, receiving the forced congratulations of the lord mayor and aldermen, and at Charing Cross the deprecatory submission of the common council. In Palace Yard the general alighted, and retired into a private house, while the Lords and Commons proceeded to their respective places of assembly.

The Houses being assembled, Fairfax was invited to attend. Seated within the bar, first of the peers, then of the Commons, he received the formal submission of the parliament, in two resolutions assented to with breathless haste. By the first, the Houses passed an ordinance appointing Fairfax governor of the Tower of London; the second conveyed to him the thanks of the parliament for "restoring them to their privileges." After the general had retired, the presbyterians gathered courage to make some use of the numerical majority which they could still command in the Commons. They, indeed, allowed the lord mayor, one of the sheriffs, and four aldermen, with some officers of the militia, to be sent prisoners to the Tower, and suffered seven out of eight peers who had continued to sit during the absence of the speakers, to be impeached; but a resolution to annul all the votes passed in that interval, viz. from July 26th to August 7th, was through their exertions rejected; and a vote only to repeal them substituted in its place. The eleven members, who had reappeared during the tumults, now fled into voluntary exile. On the following day, the whole army marched through London, and was distributed about the

neighbouring villages, in Surrey and Kent. As it had now no intention either to disband or to remove from the vicinity of the metropolis, the king's palace at Hampton Court was chosen for his residence; and on the 24th day of August he was conducted thither from Oatlands (then, likewise, a magnificent royal mansion), where he had passed those last ten days, in which, with just so much regard to the monarch's rights as comported with their own interests, prejudices, and passions, the two parties had brought to an issue their quarrel for the possession of his person and his authority.

CHAPTER XII.

HAMPTON COURT.

THE reception of the army at London was to decide its treatment of the king and his cause. Had Cromwell met with determined opposition from the parliament and the citizens, it is probable that by affecting a frank agreement with Charles, on his own terms, he would have withdrawn the royalists from the presbyterian ranks, and, at the same time, enlisted the loyal sympathies of the people on his side. But a measure so discouraging to the secret yearnings of his ambition, was rendered superfluous by the cowardice and disunion of his opponents. He was relieved from the necessity of shutting up those vast undefined personal prospects which had dawned upon his thoughts, within that "tower of strength" (for such it was still) "the king's name." Yet the time was not come, when it would be safe to discard the pretext of a contemplated or desired reconcilement; the mask, which, though adorned with a coronet and ribbon, would, if permanently fixed, have pressed heavily upon the brow of the aspiring military magnate, policy could easily persuade him to wear for a season longer. The council of officers passed a resolution, not to recede from their proposals; and, on the king's removal to

Hampton Court, its members appeared to vie with each other in attentions to the royal captive.

The period of three months passed by Charles at Hampton Court, is not unaptly said by his affectionate and lettered attendant Herbert, to have consisted of "halcyon days." It was, at least in its commencement, a gleam—the last allowed him—of prosperity and peace. He once more found himself surrounded by the splendour, the vivacity, and the dignified observances of a court. He was waited on, without restraint, by his own servants; his chaplains publicly celebrated divine service in his chapel; the presence-chamber was thronged by nobility of the highest rank. Mingled with these were the general officers of the army, the great leaders in parliament, and the principal citizens. It seemed as if an act of amnesty and oblivion had tacitly passed, and as if the king's residence near his capital, and beneath his own royal roof, had soothed the jarring heats of party, and charmed into peace the strifes of passion and self-interest. The loyalty which really survived in the bosoms of the people, was outwardly assumed, from curiosity, fashion, or policy, by those whose bosoms were unacquainted with its power. Not only were Cromwell, Ireton, and other general officers, found mixing at Charles's levees with the legitimate denizens of the court—the Richmonds, the Ormonds, the Dorsets, the Southamptons, but their families were emulous to keep up the appearance of respect. "This last week," observes the writer of a letter dated late in October, "Cromwell's, Ireton's, and Whalley's wives went to court; where Mr. Ashburnham, taking Mrs. Cromwell by the hand, and all the rest having their peculiar ser-

vants [i.e. obsequious cavaliers] were led into the court, and feasted by them." Besides this unrestrained intercourse with all parties, the king enjoyed other liberties of greater importance to his happiness. He had frequent visits from his children; he was allowed an unrestricted correspondence with the queen and the Prince of Wales; while, in the pleasures of the chase, and other equestrian recreations, the only restraint upon his freedom was his own pledged word not furtively to quit his present place of residence. The general expectation, which these circumstances encouraged, that Charles was presently to return to his capital, and publicly reassume the functions of sovereignty, was confirmed by his frequent intercourse with Cromwell, already master of the political as well as the military power of his country. Wolsey's terrace-walks and stately galleries bore witness to frequent conferences between the descendant of the ancient but unhappy Stuart line, and that coarse though gifted being, who now, with alternations of supple hypocrisy and most earnest purpose, strove to impart acceptability to his assiduous visits. That negotiations were for some weeks carried on between these two great and interesting personages, the issue of which the whole country believed would be Charles's reinstatement on the throne, is beyond dispute. On what conditions this event was to be accomplished, seems no less ambiguous than the sincerity of the negotiating parties. It is probable that the hero of independency urged the king to yield those points which were required in the proposals of the army—the surrender of his chief prerogatives and principal friends; the concession of unlimited popular demands;

universal toleration in matters of conscience. Respecting the rewards stipulated on the other side, though matter of confident rumour, we have no better authority than the gossip of female politicians, or the jealous invectives of the conclave of agitators at Putney. If these may be trusted, Cromwell professed that he would, at this time, have been content with the earldom of Essex, the garter, and the government of Ireland, for himself, and honours and emoluments in proportion for his son-in-law and eldest son.

But the part Cromwell had now to play, required the exercise of all his wonderful foresight, skill, boldness, and unmatchable dissimulation. While engaged in gaining the king, he was losing his friends, and farther exasperating his enemies in the parliament: in the army, the focus of his influence, his popularity was rapidly declining. The agitators murmuringly insinuated that the whole army was to be compromised in a private bargain with the king; the officers complained that the doors of the lieutenant and commissary-generals were open to Ashburnham and Berkley, when they were closed against themselves. Charles, himself too often driven to ambiguity and indirectness, was profoundly suspicious of Cromwell's good faith, notwithstanding the most solemn asseverations both of himself and Ireton, that they were ready to peril their lives in support of the objects of the treaty. It was with a view to satisfaction on this head, that Berkley and the gentlemen of the king's bedchamber were so often to be seen at head-quarters. Cromwell entreated the king to use greater privacy in his messages. "If I am an honest man," he said, "I have

spoken enough as to the sincerity of my intentions; if not, nothing is enough."

In the meantime, with the exception of an occasional murmur that the enemies of the parliament were allowed free access to the king, and were taking advantage of it to their injury, that assembly seemed willing, in the prosecution of those disputes which their presbyterian strength enabled them still to maintain with the army, to forget his existence. At length the army's proposals were brought before the houses for their approbation, previously to their being again submitted to the king. By the exertions chiefly of the Scottish party they were set aside, and, in their stead, the Newcastle propositions, modified by some inconsiderable changes, were presented at Hampton Court. The necessity of a final decision painfully revived, in Charles's mind, the question of Cromwell's sincerity. He resolved to put him to a fresh test. A frequent messenger between Cromwell and the king was Major Huntingdon, an officer of the lieutenant-general's own regiment, who, in the course of this employment, had conceived a strong attachment for his majesty, and had in return obtained the royal confidence. The king, sending for Huntingdon, earnestly inquired, "Whether he, who knew Cromwell intimately, considered that he was in heart the same, as he had by his tongue so freely and frequently expressed himself to be?" This grave question staggered the major, and he besought the king to wait for his answer till the next day. That night he hastened to Putney, and at dawn the next morning applied at Cromwell's quarters for an audience. Crom-

well rose from bed to receive him. He communicated his business. Cromwell then asseverated with all imaginable solemnity, that he from his heart meant to do every thing in his power, as he had promised, to restore the king; imprecating maledictions on himself, his wife, and children, if he failed in his word, and protesting, that though deserted by the army, if but ten men stood by him he would be true to the king and his cause. Huntingdon, aware of the violent measures against the king then agitated in the army, and too well acquainted with Cromwell to be easily convinced, was still so cautious as to stipulate, that should any thing happen to hinder the lieutenant-general's intentions, he would give the king warning, in time to provide against the danger. Relying on these assurances, Charles no longer hesitated once more to refuse the parliament's propositions. He intimated his confidence in Cromwell and his inseparable counsellor Ireton, by submitting his answer to be altered by them as they pleased. It repeated the former statements of his inability to consent to the propositions, without violence to his conscience and his honour. It then passed, with some respectful allusions to the services and just expectations of the army, to the proposals submitted to him from that quarter, to which, he presumed, the houses of parliament were no strangers; and concluded by declaring his belief, that they "would think with him, that those proposals were much more calculated to conduce to the satisfaction of all interests, and to be the basis of a lasting peace, than the propositions now tendered." This answer was presented to the Commons on the 13th of September. It raised a

violent flame in the house. The king was called an obstruction in the way of all good resolutions: he was an Ahab, and coloquintida; and they ought to think no more of him, but proceed as if no such person existed. In levelling these acrimonious speeches against the royal person and authority, none were more vehement than "the two grand impostors," as Huntingdon, on this occasion, terms Cromwell and Ireton. When this monstrous fact was reported to Charles, it naturally excited his amazement. Again he sent Huntingdon—not now to inquire, but to expostulate. The major brought back no other satisfaction, but this characteristic and ingenious remark of Cromwell's, that "what he had said in the House of Commons was only to sound the depths of those virulent humours, wherewith the presbyterians (whom he knew to be no friends to the king) were possessed." But the perfidy was too rank to be salved; and Cromwell was seen no more at Hampton Court.

For so remarkable a change many different reasons were assigned, all of them intended to conceal the true one, namely, that no motive now remained for keeping up a wearisome deception; and some of them contrived to throw the whole odium upon the king. That the conduct of Cromwell had engendered angry suspicions among the violent spirits of the army, was undoubtedly the fact; hence he affirmed that considerations of personal safety obliged him to break off his intercourse with the court. Another pretence was the alleged "incurable duplicity" of Charles, as manifested in his correspondence with the Scots. At the instigation of the Duke of Hamilton, that people were commencing warlike pre-

parations; and when Cromwell, himself already well informed, questioned the king as to his knowledge of the fact, the latter, though actually in treaty with the duke, resorted to concealment. Charles was, doubtless, in this as in other instances, open to the charge of dissimulation. But, as we are unable to define the exact point to which the royal artifice extended, so likewise we are in no condition to declare that this was not one of those occasions when the tortuous maxims of potentates and statesmen may allowably interpose their veil, before that sacred majesty of truth which the Christian and the gentleman display, in all private matters, without disguise. The king's scrupulous regard to his word was evinced, about this time, on two remarkable occasions; of which one will be more particularly mentioned farther on; the other is in immediate connexion with the present subject. It is related by Burnet, that on an occasion when the king, attended by a very small guard, was engaged in hunting, the lords Lanerick and Lauderdale suddenly made their appearance with a body of fifty horsemen, and entreated him to make his escape, assuring him that themselves and their party were willing to sacrifice their lives for his deliverance. But Charles refused, on the sole ground, that he had engaged his honour not to leave the custody of the army without giving them notice, and he would rather die than break his faith.

As to the well-known stories of the reported conversation between Cromwell and Ireton and Lord Broghill, and of a letter, ripped by the hands of the great republican generals from the saddle of a traveller's horse at the

Blue Boar in Holborn; which are said to have proved, not only the double-dealing of the king while listening both to the presbyterians and the army, but likewise his perfidious design to destroy Cromwell and his friends as soon as he should be restored; these apocryphal relations plainly originated in the invention of his enemies, and the childish improbability of them is apparent to all except those historians whose wishes, or whose prejudices, incline them to the belief of their authenticity.

The custody of the king had now become worthless to the army. His longer residence, and especially his holding a crowded court, so near to the metropolis, now enthusiastically disposed in his favour, could not fail to impede their "good resolutions." How to dispose of him was the next question. To let him fall into the hands of the presbyterian party, would be to relinquish the advantage they had gained. A private assassination had been unsafe; Cromwell, moreover, was not a man of blood. The inventive mind of the lieutenant-general lighted on a scheme both facile and unobjectionable; for effecting which he found a convenient instrument in the king's trusted attendant, Ashburnham, the weakness of whose character he had had abundant opportunities of studying; while the lawless proceedings of the army offered a plausible groundwork. Charles's contemptuous rejection of the proposals, supervening upon the republican and fanatic notions, already become general among the soldiers, had wrought them into a perfect abhorrence of the king and all kingly government. To this disposition they were further stimulated by confidence in their own power, and resentment

of their treatment by the legislature. For the parliament, as if determined to exert against the military the last remnant of its feeble authority, with the view, as it seemed, to provoke them to some desperate step that might wholly alienate the people's affections from them, continued obstinately to withhold both the promised gratuity and regular arrears of pay. Among all those ingredients, however, of the witch's cauldron of successful rebellion, from the ferment of which now sprung what has been called a third party, namely, the faction of the levellers, religious fanaticism was the most powerful. This was the principle which, in the outbreak of the war, united Cromwell's troopers to each other, and to him; it was by means of this (the solitary spirit having now become "legion,") that a combination was being formed, which afterwards demanded all the power, dexterity, and courage of that gifted adventurer to break. At Putney, before Berry as president of the agitators took the chair, or before Rainsborough, the fiercest of the republican demagogues, launched his invectives against the king,—Peters and Dell, Cromwell's inspired chaplains, mounted the pulpit to prepare the minds of the military legislators, by evincing, from the perverted words of scripture, his famous maxim, that "there was no law in England but the law of the sword, and what it gives," and, as a consequence, that the rightful legislator is the wearer of the sword. The tenets of the levellers were the proper issue of the tenets of the independents; as the latter had been of those of the puritans. It is a very natural progress downwards; for the successive steps of it are marked, from the birth, in every human bosom.

It is the same inborn principle of proud self-will, which begins by questioning the foundations of authority, and casting aside the veneration due to ancient, heaven-taught wisdom, and which ends by making men's passions and self-interest the law to themselves, and the rule whereby they would coerce and compel all others. And this the levellers admitted, indirectly, by assuming, in the first instance, the title of "rationalists." They acknowledged no duty but such as God had made plain to their reason; and what their reason approved, in church and state, in the making or the executing of laws, was alone binding; and this only till *farther light* was afforded. This new supreme power, the sovereignty of the people (of the people considered, not as one body but as distinct individuals), was of course hostile to all other authority whatever: to the parliament as well as to the king; to graduated rank in the army, as well as to a hierarchy in the church. But the first great obstacle in the way of its exercise was the king. The king had rejected their proposals; they were no longer to regard either them or the king himself; but to consult their own good, and the safety of the kingdom—which, indeed, was theirs by conquest;—"and to use such means towards both, as they should find rational." The levellers held meetings of a character peculiarly secret and solemn, at which (in the phrase taught them by Cromwell) "they sought the Lord" to reveal his will to his saints, that is, to the most excited of the fanatics; those who were forwardest to execute whatever should be resolved as fittest to be done. As a logical consequence, the regicidal principle

was at length broached, in those dark conclaves. The king was an impediment in the way of the general good of the people: the people were greater than the king, possessed of a higher sovereignty: therefore the people might judge, and, if need were, destroy the king. The notion of bringing the sovereign to a formal trial was early familiar in the debates of the agitators; though the terrific consequences might not so soon be distinctly, or at any time by all, held up to contemplation. "Not," said Joyce, "that I would have a hair of his head to suffer, but that the people might not bear the blame of the war." But Joyce was both less logical, and less bloody, than some of his associates; for trial, as it presupposes criminality, so it supposes condemnation, and condemnation implies punishment. In accordance with, and as the gradual growth of these deliberations—if so they may be styled—two papers, the one a statement of grievances, entitled, "the case of the army," the other, "the agreement of the people," were presented by the agitators to their general. The "agreement," a daring and powerful manifesto, said to have been originally framed by the famous republican Lilburne, proposed a new constitution for the empire. It asserted, of course, the right of sovereignty to be in the people, and it proposed to secure to them the three great privileges, of which the nation ought never to consent to divest itself—equality of law, freedom of conscience, and exemption from forced military service. The exercise of the people's sovereign power was to reside with their representatives in parliament; but no mention occurs of either king or lords.

That these precursors of regicide were felt by Cromwell and Ireton to be only "marshalling them the way that they must go," is indubitable; since, though regularly made acquainted by their spies with every thing that passed in the most secret meetings, they not merely connived at, but encouraged those licentious schemes which were there brought forward. The most active heads of the movement were, in fact, soldiers and subalterns in their own regiments, and that of the general. Yet the fears of these officers were by no means wholly feigned, on observing, at how fiercely precipitated a pace those apt learners were now running in the path which they had opened for them. The time arrived when a pause was to be made; when, at all events, leaders of a higher strain, men who knew how to divest progress of undue precipitancy, and who could unite security with daring, were to step forward into those places in the van, which hitherto they had found it convenient to occupy only in the persons of subordinates. Up to this mature point of the great design, Cromwell, though he had ceased in person to visit the king, continued to receive the royal messengers at his quarters, with an appearance of anxious desire for the success of their negotiations. At length, the lieutenant-general had grown so cold in his demeanour, and so nearly inaccessible, that even the unsuspicious Ashburnham saw plainly, that nothing farther was to be hoped from pursuing the correspondence. His more sagacious master had all along been haunted by suspicions of the fact. "He was not surprised," he said; "for he had always had some secret misgivings, that Cromwell

and Ireton never designed any real service to himself, but made use of his interest to advance their own; which lay some other way than by his restoration." Suddenly, Charles perceived that the guards were doubled about the palace. An excuse for this change was pretended, by Cromwell, in a letter alleging the danger of violence to the royal person. But it was farther observable, that the temper and behaviour of the men seemed likewise to have changed with the change in their officers. The sentinels disturbed the king's repose with loud and unmannerly noises, and filled the corridors of the palace with the coarsest fumes of that Indian weed which was known peculiarly to offend the delicate organ of the monarch. Charles remonstrated against the doubling of the guard, as injurious to his honour; and, in a letter to the general, withdrew his parole. "He would be no longer bound," he said, "by his word to continue with the army, for where his word was given there ought to be no guards: his word was his guard. They must henceforth look to him as well as they could." At the same time, Berkley and Ashburnham were forbidden any more to attend upon their master, and the gates of the palace were equally closed against his other friends and visitors.

Charles appears to have put little faith in those perils of assassination which he was told beset him. He sometimes looked upon the frequent intimations given him to that effect, as artifices probably designed to inveigle him to some dangerous step—perhaps, into the very perils pretended to be pointed out. They added, nevertheless, to those perplexities which now

tormented, and determined him to attempt his deliverance by one more romantic effort. Colonel Legge alone, of all his trusted servants, was allowed access to the king's person. By his agency Charles made Berkley and Ashburnham acquainted with his resolution to escape, leaving it in particular to Ashburnham to find the means and to fix the direction of his flight. To conceal himself in London—to deliver himself, a second time, to the Scots—to cross the sea to Jersey, an island which still acknowledged his authority, and where Hyde and other illustrious loyalists had found refuge,—were plans successively discussed, and finally abandoned for one worse than all.

On the afternoon of November 11th, the king commanded, that, having letters to write, he might be exposed to no interruption; and this order was suspended only when, at dusk, lights were brought into his chamber. Supper-time arrived, and the commissioners, with Whalley, who had still the command of the king's guard, were assembled as usual; but Charles appeared not. Wondering, for a space, at this unwonted delay, they knocked, and, receiving no answer from within, entered the royal apartment. On the floor lay the king's cloak, suggesting to the imaginations of the party, already filled with the current rumours of a projected assassination, that violence had been attempted upon his person. Some letters, left by him on his writing-table, quickly relieved their apprehensions. Of these papers, one was addressed to Lord Montague, who, on opening it, found a request that a certain picture in the king's chamber might be restored to the Duke of Richmond, its

owner; and, in a postscript, he earnestly recommended to the care of the commissioner his favourite greyhound, whose disconsolate whine had alone greeted the intruders at their entrance. In a second letter, he thanked Whalley for the attentions paid to his comfort, while in that officer's custody. The third threw light upon the motives which had driven him to the step implied in the others. It bore the signature, "E. R.," and gave an account of the resolution adopted at the meetings of the agitators, to take away the king's life. This letter was recognised by Whalley, as one which, in the discharge of his duty, he had shown, he said, to his majesty; but had accompanied it with an assurance, that he might be confident no such thing would be attempted: "though menacing speeches," he admitted, "came frequently to his ear, the general officers abhorred so bloody and villanous an act. For himself, in particular, he had assured the king, he was sent to safeguard, not to murder him; and would rather die at his feet in his defence." The last letter was one addressed by Charles to the parliament, and contained an explicit statement of the impressions and views under which the royal prisoner had withdrawn. It commenced with the king's assertion of his natural right to the common liberty; and thus he proceeds: "I call God to witness with what patience I have endured a tedious restraint; which, so long as I had any hopes that this sort of my suffering might conduce to the peace of my kingdoms, I did willingly undergo. But now finding by too certain proofs that this my continued patience would not only turn to my personal ruin, but likewise be of much more

prejudice to the public good, I thought I was bound, as well by natural as political obligation to seek my safety, by retiring myself for some time from the public view both of my friends and enemies. I shall earnestly and incessantly endeavour," he continues, "the settlement of a safe and well-grounded peace, wherever I am . . ." for . . . "as I cannot deny but that my personal security is the urgent cause of this my retirement, so I take God to witness that the public peace is no less before my eyes; and I can find no better way to express this my profession, than by desiring and urging, that, besides what concerns myself, all chief interests,—the presbyterians, the independents, the army, those who have adhered to me, and even the Scots,—may have not only a hearing, but likewise just satisfaction given unto them. Let me be heard," he with dignity concludes, "with freedom, honour, and safety, and I shall instantly break through this cloud of retirement, and show myself to be PATER PATRIÆ."

While all parties were in consternation at the king's flight; and while the parliament, first dispatching messengers to the seaports and other outlets of the kingdom, passed an ordinance making it high treason to conceal his person, or the place of his retreat, and (in terror lest he should have hid himself in London) issued a proclamation for the banishment of all persons who had ever borne arms for him, to a distance of twenty miles from the metropolis; Cromwell took instant advantage of the relief afforded him by the success of this grand manœuvre, to bend all his energies to the suppression of the mutinous temper in the army. It was an exigency

which fully demanded that amazing union of cunning, dexterity, and courage, which enabled him so often to baffle his enemies, and to crush a danger at that particular instant, when its extinction must prove as complete, as its farther progress would have been fatal. The king's disappearance had increased the angry excitement which possessed the soldiery. It was now no fiction, that the levellers menaced the lives, not alone of Cromwell and Ireton, but of their superior officers generally; who perceived that the success of their objects, and the very existence of the army, depended upon their success in restoring subordination and discipline. With this view, Fairfax directed a general rendezvous to be held at Ware.

A great part of the troops came upon the ground reluctantly and in disorder; but as the general officers rode round the field, the soothing language of the popular Fairfax, and the stern determination which had settled upon the brow of Cromwell, quickly thinned the masses of the disaffected. At length, all but three or four regiments signified their readiness to subscribe an engagement to submit to their general, which had been prepared for the occasion. Still Lilburne's, Harrison's, and Rainsborough's kept aloof. The men, collected into groups, listened eagerly to the harangues of their agitators, who distributed among them copies of the "agreement of the people," and placards bearing seditious mottoes, which they placed in their hats. Cromwell, Ireton, and the most resolute of their friends, riding up to the mutineers, the lieutenant-general ordered them to remove the offensive paper. They

hesitated; when, drawing his sword, he charged through the astonished groups, seized a dozen of the ringleaders, of whom one, being chosen by lot, was instantly shot dead upon the place, and his companions handed over to an officer to be tried by a court-martial. The others then gloomily submitted. Cromwell assuming that tone of blandishment and pious lachrymation, which he had always found irresistible in camp or senate, in that strange age of religious imposture, promised a speedy settlement of all their reasonable demands, and dismissed them to their several quarters. Hastening to Westminster, he made his report of the day's events to the houses. Without the grosser colouring of vanity (for he attributed its successful close to "God's mercy and the endeavours of his excellency and his officers,") the narrator, nevertheless, shone as the hero of his tale, and received the thanks of the parliament accordingly. It is remarkable, therefore, that in the long despatch from Fairfax, in which the same facts are detailed, no mention is found of the name of Cromwell.

The lieutenant-general was likewise the first to calm the anxiety of the Commons respecting the king's disappearance, by acquainting them, on the day following that which revealed his departure, that the royal fugitive had taken refuge in the Isle of Wight. Notwithstanding the ostentatious care pretended in placing the guard at Hampton Court, a private door, which opened from the king's apartments into the park, was left without a sentinel. By this entrance, Berkley and Ashburnham obtained access to him, after their appearance at the palace had

been prohibited, to arrange the manner and means of his escape. It was by this door that Charles also himself, accompanied only by his faithful attendant Legge, had issued from his palace-prison. The night was excessively dark and stormy. Crossing the river at Ditton, they found the two faithful, but ill-assorted counsellors waiting with horses. They went towards Oatlands, the king, who was more familiarly acquainted with the forest than his companions, undertaking the office of guide; but his skill was unavailing, in the darkness, to prevent their wandering from the track, and day had broke before the party reached Sutton, where Berkley had provided a relay of horses.

Among the places which had occurred or been suggested to the king, as safe if not advantageous retreats, it does not appear that he had definitively selected any one before adventuring on his sudden and ill-considered flight. While descending a hill, he proposed that the party should lead their horses, and confer as they walked on this important point. Jersey had originally been thought of as perhaps the most desirable destination, and Berkley now asked if a vessel had been provided; but the king's resolve had been too hastily put in execution. Meantime the travellers were directing their course towards Southampton. Berkley proposed that they should strike out farther westward, but his advice was overruled, on the ground that they ought not to quit the neighbourhood of the army till the result of the expected rendezvous was known, and the king's treaty completed with the Scots. In this

perplexity he suddenly resolved to go to the Isle of Wight—"for the first time," observes Berkley, "for aught I could then discover." But Charles was determined by motives with which, unfortunate as they proved, Berkley was unacquainted. Ashburnham, a few days previously, had recommended to the king Sir John Oglander's house in the Isle of Wight, as a secure asylum. It was farther eligible, he said, on account of the convenient distance of the island from the metropolis; of the facilities it offered for escape, or communication with the king's friends by sea; and of its having few or no soldiers. But its chief recommendation rested on an opinion he entertained that the governor, Colonel Hammond, might be gained over. He had lately met Hammond, who, renewing a slight acquaintance formerly existing between them, had told him, that since he found the army was resolved to break all promises with the king, he had determined to get out of the way by returning to his government, for he would have no share in such perfidious actions.

The party had arrived within twenty miles of the island, when some natural misgivings arose in Charles's mind. Hammond was, in some degree, known to him as the nephew of his favourite and justly famous chaplain, the author of the "*Practical Catechism;*" and he had reason to believe him a man of honour, and one who bore no animosity to his person. But he had long served as a colonel in the parliamentarian army, and now held the highly responsible office of military governor, by the appointment of his enemies. The king therefore

prudently dispatched Berkley and Ashburnham to sound Hammond, while, attended only by Legge, he himself proceeded to Tichfield, the seat of the Earl of Southampton, intending to await, in the bosom of that loyal family, the issue of their negotiation. They were to show the governor copies of the two letters which warned the king of the danger of assassination, with Charles's letter to the parliament; and to tell him, that in yielding to the necessity of flight, not from the army, but from the daggers of assassins, the king had made choice of him to confide in, as a person of honourable extraction, and one who, though engaged against him in the war, he had reason to believe, had been actuated by no feeling of personal hostility. They were to ask for protection for the king and his servants; or, if he could not grant this, that he would leave them to themselves. The two had already taken leave, when Berkley, foreseeing the possibility of their forcible detention, came back and advised the king, that if their return should be delayed beyond the next day, he should think no more of them, but secure his own escape. Charles thanked him for the caution, and they parted.

A violent storm detained the king's envoys that night at Lymington; but in the morning they crossed over, and met with the governor in the way between Carisbrooke Castle and Newport. It is among the extraordinary circumstances in this negotiation, that Ashburnham, notwithstanding his personal knowledge of Hammond, instead of himself addressing him, should have deputed his companion, who had no such advantage. Berkley, saluting the governor, abruptly opened his

message by asking him, "Who he thought was near him?" and continued,—"even good King Charles, who has come from Hampton Court for fear of being murdered privately." "This," observes Ashburnham in his narrative, "was a very unskilful entrance into our business." While Sir John delivered the king's message, the governor, who saw instantly into what a difficult position he was thrown by this unexpected communication, turned pale, trembled, and had nearly fallen from his horse. "O gentlemen," he exclaimed, "you have undone me by bringing the king into the island;—if you have brought him;—and if not, pray let him not come; for, what between my duty to his majesty, and my gratitude for this fresh obligation of his confidence on the one hand, and the observance of my trust to the army on the other, I shall be confounded!" By degrees Hammond recovered his self-possession, expressed at length his willingness to serve the king, and invited the two negotiators to dine with him, when they might confer farther. They failed to draw from him any definite promise; but he proposed that one of them should remain with him in the castle, while the other should take horse and go to the king, who, he was confident, would be satisfied with such a general assurance as he could give. Berkley avers that he gladly embraced the proposal to remain; "though," adds he, "I had the image of the gallows very perfectly before me." Hammond, however, presently reopened the conference, and, after a long debate, pledged himself "to perform whatever could be expected from a person of honour and honesty." Before Berkley could speak, Ashburnham, who now seemed as much in haste to close

the interview as he had been slow to begin it, replied: "I will ask no more." "Now then," added Hammond, "let us all go together to the king." Ashburnham consented. Berkley, in astonishment, stepped aside from the governor, and addressing Ashburnham, asked, "What, do you mean to carry this man to the king, before you know whether he will approve of this undertaking or no? You will indeed surprise him." "I'll warrant you," was all the other's reply. "And so you shall," observed the more prudent negotiator: "for you know the king much better than I do, and therefore when we shall come where he is, I assure you I will not see him before you have satisfied his majesty concerning your proceedings." "Well," returned Ashburnham, "I will take it upon me." That Ashburnham so readily consented to Hammond's proposal to accompany them, proceeded, he says, first, from his wish that the king should have the opportunity to make his own conditions; and, secondly, from considering that it was useless to refuse, as Hammond would have sent his spies, and so discovered the king's place of concealment. At Cowes, the governor proposed to take the captain of the castle with him. Berkley again objected, but Ashburnham silenced him by observing—"No matter, they are but two, whom we could easily manage."

When the four arrived at Tichfield, Berkley remained below with Hammond and the captain, while Ashburnham, according to his promise, went up to the king, and told him what had passed. The scene that ensued more than realised all Berkley's apprehensions, and awakened the faithful but incompetent envoy to

a fearful sense of his imprudence. Charles started in agony, struck his breast, and casting a look of bitter reproach on Ashburnham, exclaimed, "What, have you brought Hammond with you? Oh Jack! you have undone me, for I am by this means made fast from stirring; he will imprison me!" Ashburnham now, in his despair, proposed what he calls an expedient. If the king mistrusted Hammond, he would, with his majesty's permission, undertake to secure him. "I understand you well enough," answered Charles; "but how would the murder of this man be viewed? If I should follow your counsel, it would be said, and believed, that he had ventured his life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him. I have sent to Hampton for a vessel, and was expecting news of it every moment. But it is now too late to think of any thing, except going through the way you have forced upon me, and leaving the issue to God."

While this discourse was passing, Hammond and the captain grew so impatient at the long delay, that Berkley was forced to send and request that his majesty and Mr. Ashburnham would remember they were below. On their admission, they found Ashburnham weeping bitterly. "Sir John Berkley," said the king, "I hope you are not so passionate as Jack Ashburnham: do you think you have followed my directions?" Berkley answered, "No, indeed, Sir," and briefly entered into a vindication of himself, as having desired to conduct the negotiation otherwise. Charles now turning to Hammond, received him cheerfully; and the governor repeated his protestations, with more earnestness and warmth than he

had shown at Carisbrooke, that the king might depend upon his doing all that honour and honesty could demand. "But remember, Colonel Hammond," said Charles, "that I am to judge in this case what is meant by honesty and honour."—The party then mounted, and set forward towards the island.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

CHARLES appeared to resume his habitual cheerfulness. The events of the first six weeks after his arrival in the Isle of Wight, were calculated to lessen the annoyance which he had felt on finding himself absolutely in the power of Hammond, and to flatter his friends with the hope that he had gained, by his last adventure, not ease and security alone, but freedom and the probable means of restoration. The inhabitants of the island were, without exception, loyal; and, in that secluded spot, where the despotism of the army had scarcely yet been felt, were not afraid to display the attachment they felt to their unfortunate sovereign. With expressions of unrestrained delight, they attended him to the stately portal of Carisbrooke, presenting him with flowers, even at that advanced season the produce of their mild climate, and still employed by the simpler English of the seventeenth century to express sentiments which, in our days, are ascribed to them only by the artist and the poet. His chaplains and servants, as soon as the place of his retreat became known, hastened to him, and were admitted. Entrance was denied to none who claimed it

on the plea of duty. Hammond appeared willing to forget that he had any other masters but the king. On writing to the parliament a statement of the remarkable incidents by which his illustrious inmate had come into his custody, he professed, with perfect sincerity, a determination to use his utmost endeavours to preserve the royal person, even at the risk of his own life, from any such horrid attempt as had been threatened at Hampton Court; and, acquainting the houses that the accommodations afforded by Carisbrooke Castle were "no ways suitable to his quality," he solicited a vote for the continuance of the king's allowance, on the consideration of which they immediately entered. Hammond carried still farther the frankness and good-will with which the king had inspired him. At his request, Charles sent a message to the parliament, once more repeating the assurance of his anxious desire to settle a peace by a personal treaty; and, for the first time, proposed such terms as involved the surrender of both church and crown. He suggested the policy of a like communication to the army, through one of the king's personal friends, who, besides a letter to the general, should be furnished with others more confidential to Cromwell and Ireton, urging them to close with the king's offers.

To execute this mission, Charles chose Sir John Berkley; who readily undertook it, though, as he tells us, not without apprehensions of the event. Berkley found Fairfax engaged in a meeting of officers; he sent in the general's letters, and, after long waiting, was himself admitted. His welcome corresponded to the

inattention implied in that delay. Fairfax received him with a severe countenance, and, in the cold manner natural to him, merely said, that "they were the parliament's army, to whom they would send the king's letters." Berkley looked round upon Cromwell, Ireton, and the other officers with whom he was acquainted: they saluted him with an ominous coldness and distance, unlike any thing he had ever experienced from them before, and, with a smile of bitter disdain, showed him Hammond's letter. The envoy saw that was no place for him, and hurried to his inn. There he waited, but no one sought him. At length he sent his servant out to see if he could light on some of his acquaintance. A general officer whispered in the man's ear, that he would meet his master at twelve o'clock, in a retired spot which he named. The information obtained at this midnight interview was answerable to its secresy and solemnity. "You remember," said Berkley's mysterious interlocutor, "that we, who were zealous for an engagement with the king, resolved to discover if we were cozened. We mistrusted Cromwell and Ireton, as I informed you. I come now to tell you that we mistrust neither; but know them, and all of us, to be the archest villains in the world. For we are resolved, notwithstanding our engagements, to destroy the king and his posterity. This afternoon Ireton proposed that you should be sent prisoner to London, and that none should speak to you upon pain of death, and I hazard my life now by doing so. It is intended to send eight hundred of the most disaffected of the army to secure the king's person, which we believe not to be secure where he is, and then to

bring him to trial. I dare think no farther!—This will be done in ten days. If the king can escape, let him do it!" Berkley, in astonishment, demanded the reason of this change in the officers: "what had the king done to deserve it?" The other knew of nothing. Had they been able to take any advantage of his conduct, they would have been but too happy to make it public. "This, however," continued the informant, "I conceive to be the case. Though, at the late rendezvous, one of the mutineers was shot, and eleven made prisoners, and the rest in appearance subdued, yet they were not so in fact. Two-thirds of the army have since come to Cromwell and Ireton, and plainly told them, that 'they were determined, be the danger what it might, still to persevere; and if the officers refused to unite with them, they would divide from them.' The inference which Cromwell drew was equally consistent with his genius and his ambition. 'If we cannot bring the army to our sense, we must go to theirs: division would ruin all.' He employed Peters as his negotiator. 'I acknowledge,' observed the dexterous lieutenant-general to his warlike chaplain, 'that in this thing I have been led astray. The glories of the world so dazzled my eyes (alluding to the wealth and honours, which it is said he had agreed to accept, as the price of promoting the restoration of the king), that I could not discern clearly the great work the Lord was doing. But now I am resolved to humble myself, and desire the prayers of the saints, that God may be pleased to forgive me my self-seeking.' To this language he added soothing messages to the prisoners, with assurances that no farther harm

should be allowed to happen to them." Thus was effected that reconciliation, which we shall presently find publicly and solemnly recognized.

Berkley immediately sent off despatches by his cousin, who had accompanied him from the Isle of Wight. In a letter intended for the governor's eye, he gave a general account of the state of things in the army; in a second, written in cypher, he communicated to the king the particulars of his secret conference, "naming the person, and concluding with a most passionate supplication to his majesty to think of nothing but his immediate escape." In the morning he sent an officer to Cromwell, to let him know that he had letters and instructions for him from the king. Cromwell sent word back by the same messenger, that he durst not see him, it being very dangerous for both. However, he assured him, that he would serve his majesty as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but desired Berkley not to expect that he should perish for his sake. The discomfited negotiator immediately took horse for London.

Before he left Carisbrooke, Berkley had desired to be furnished with authority to treat with the Scottish commissioners, in case, as he feared might happen, he failed with the army. As this request was refused, he imagined that now no farther impediment would delay the king's escape, which at that time seemed easy to be effected. He daily rode in any direction he pleased about the island. It was doubtful whether Hammond would attempt to hinder his going; but should he do so, the faithful adherents of the king within the castle were fully sufficient to overpower the guard, which

consisted only of a few feeble old men, not well affected to the parliament. A frigate, provided by the queen, was lying at Southampton, ready to receive him. But the king's disposition to intrigue—in other words, his excessive, and, assuredly, groundless confidence in the skill of himself and his friends in the profounder arts of diplomacy, once more betrayed him. In an interview, in London, with Lauderdale and Laneric, Berkley was surprised to find that the king was still engaged in carrying on the treaty with the Scots, employing at this time the agency of a certain Dr. Gough. This person, an intriguing popish priest sent over by the queen and Jermyn, obtaining an insight into those proceedings of the army which had alarmed Sir John, had likewise conjured the king to make his speedy escape, and besought him not to insist too nicely upon terms in so frightful an exigency of his affairs. The Scottish commissioners themselves employed the like urgency, informing him that they had certain intelligence of a design to subject him to close confinement, preparatory to some attempt upon his life. On the other hand, Ashburnham, who at this moment absolutely guided the king's measures, held Charles from day to day in the meskes of that hesitation which was too natural to his diffident and conscientious temper; and at last it was determined between them, not to close with the Scots until he should have conferred personally with the commissioners. They came; and were preceded, the space of a day, by commissioners from the parliament.

The parliamentary commissioners brought down with them the four propositions (or bills, as they are commonly

styled), famous in the history of this time, which Charles was to consider as all the answer that would be vouchsafed to the large offers contained in his last message, and to which he was required to give his assent as the previous condition of a personal treaty. It was on occasion of the voting of these propositions by the parliament, that the final and irreparable breach took place between them and the commissioners of Scotland. By the first proposition, the command of the army was to be vested in the parliament for twenty years, with a provision which, in effect, rendered this enactment perpetual; the second recalled all oaths, proclamations, and declarations, issued against the parliament during the war, and declared that assembly to have taken up arms in their own just and necessary defence; the third annulled all titles of honour, granted under the great seal, since it had been carried off by Lord Littleton in 1642, and deprived all peers, to be afterwards created, of the right of sitting in parliament, except with the consent of the two houses; the fourth, with the view of ensuring the perpetual submission of the parliament to the army, conferred on the houses the power of adjourning from place to place at their discretion. Their absolute enslavement, at this time, to the despotism of the army, notwithstanding the numerical strength of the presbyterians, is sufficiently apparent in the tenor of all four. That the king would give the required assent, was expected by no party; by none but determined enemies, acting in the spirit of conquerors, could such a series of propositions have been submitted to him. He would naturally object on two grounds. 1. The oppressive tenor of the propo-

sitions themselves, which was such as would have left him absolutely at the mercy of his inveterate enemies. "If," wrote a contemporary, "he pass these bills, he will dishearten his friends, unking himself and his posterity for ever, be carried up and down like a stalking-horse to their designs, and be crowned *ludibrio coronæ*, with straw or thorns. For who can think that, at the end of twenty years, these usurpers will lay down what they have so unjustly extorted, contrary to all laws divine and human, and contrary to their own declarations, oaths, and covenants? And who can, or dare, wrest those powers out of their hands, being once settled and grown customary in them; the people's spirits broken with habitual servitude, a numerous army and garrisons hovering over them, and all places of judicature filled with corrupt judges, who shall, by constrained interpretations of the law, force bloody precedents out of them against whomsoever shall dare to be so good a patriot as to oppose their tyranny?" 2. The monstrous demand of an assent, as preliminary to a treaty, to concessions which involved the whole substance of the hardest possible terms that could be proposed in the treaty itself, and these unaccompanied by the shadow of a concession on the other side. But the Scottish commissioners had, besides, objections peculiar to themselves. The interests of their nation, and of the presbyterians generally, were, by this vote, wholly set aside; they were themselves on the point of closing with the king on their own terms; they burned with long-cherished resentment against their imperious allies, and they were unwilling by any further oppression of the king to add to the opprobrium they had formerly brought upon themselves by

the base transfer of his person, agreed to at Newcastle. They asked for a copy of the bills, which they complained had not been communicated to them; and remonstrated, in high and uncompromising terms, against the whole proceeding, as unjust in itself, and as being, for want of their concurrence, a violation of the covenant.

The parliament, or the independents and republicans who ruled it, rejected with scorn this attempt to control their actions, and voted the interference of any foreign nation in their proceedings, an invasion of the independence of the kingdom. An elaborate answer to the Scots' remonstrance was composed by Marten. This man, even as early as the spring of the year 1646, when there was a debate in the Commons about sending propositions to the king, had not scrupled to say that "the man to whom the propositions should be sent, ought rather to come to the bar himself, than be sent to any more." On the present occasion he took part in the affairs of his faction "with an infinite zeal," as it has been called, which must have delighted the agitators. His cold and biting sarcasms, made more effective by the reputed levity of his character, as "the buffoon of the house," must have been felt by the Scots. An extract from this savage, yet statesman-like invective, will throw light, not only on the temper of the independents at this time, but on the sentiments really entertained by them towards the Scots, from the beginning of the war. With respect to the alleged infringement of the covenant, "I do not conceive," he says, "the parties to that league intended thereby to be everlastingly bound to each other; the grounds of striking it being merely occasional, for the joining in a war to

suppress a common enemy. Accordingly we did join; the enemy is, if we be wise, suppressed, and the war, as you say, ended; what should the covenant do, but, like an almanac of the last year, show us rather what we have already done, than what we be now to do?" Again: "Your entitling yourselves to a cognizance in the conditions of our peace, and consequently in the matter of our laws, when they relate to an agreement, as I confess the four bills do which were sent, is grounded upon a very great mistake of the eighth article in the treaty; the words whereof are, indeed, very rightly recited by you, and the article itself so rational, so ordinary, so necessary, in all wars joined in by two states, that I do almost wonder as much what need there was to have inserted it, as I do how it is possible for you to mistake it. It stands briefly thus: one of you (for the purpose) and I (pardon, if you please, the familiarity of the instance), have solemnly engaged ourselves each to other for our mutual aid against a third person, because we conceived him too strong for either of us single, or because one of us doubted he might have drawn the other of us to his party, if not pre-engaged against him; but whichsoever of us was first in the quarrel, or whatever was the reason of the other's coming in, we are engaged; and, though there were no writings drawn betwixt us, no terms expressed, were not I the veriest skellum that ever looked man in the face, if I should shake hands with the common adversary, and leave you fighting? Against such a piece of business, supposing it be like to be in nature, this article provides, and says, that since these two kingdoms were content to join in a war, which, without God's great mercy, might

have proved fatal to them both, neither of them shall be suffered to make its peace apart; so as, if the parliament of Scotland, upon consideration of reasons occurring to themselves, should offer to readmit the king into that kingdom, I say, not with honour, freedom, and safety, but in peace, the parliament of England might step in and forbid the banns; telling them we are not satisfied that an agreement should yet be made; similiter, if this parliament would come to any peace with him by bills or propositions, or by what other name soever they call their plasters, you may, being so authorised, in name of that kingdom, or the parliament thereof, intervene and oppose; telling us that you, who are our fellow-surgeons merely in lancing of the sore, are not satisfied in the time for healing of it up; but for you to read a lecture to us upon our medicaments and their ingredients, to take measure of wounds, and to prefer your measure before that of our own taking, was never dreamt on by the framers of this article."

A few pages after the above powerful paragraph, he becomes still more explicit: "When," says he, "you ask, why we do not observe the same forwardness in communicating our matters to you, the same patience in expecting your concurrence with us, and the same easiness of admitting your harangues and disputations among us, which you have heretofore tasted at our hands, and how we are become less friendly than we were? I have this to say, there is some alteration in the condition of affairs: so long as we needed the assistance of your countrymen in the field, we might have occasion to give you meetings at Derby House, and now and then in the painted

chamber, it being likely that the kingdom of Scotland might then have a fellow-feeling with us for the wholesomeness or perniciousness of your counsels; whereas, now since we are able, by God's blessing, to protect ourselves, we may surely, with his holy direction, be sufficient to teach ourselves how to go about our own business, at least without your tutoring, who have nothing in your consideration to look upon, but either your particular advantage, or that of the kingdom whence you are."

The parliament's commissioners were ordered to stay but four days in the Isle of Wight. In the meantime the commissioners of Scotland presented their protest against the four propositions, and obtained the more important object of the king's signature to the private treaty with themselves. The king, on his part, consented in this treaty to the establishment of presbyterianism in England for three years, with every other concession, in matters relating to religion, which his conscience would allow, and agreed to confirm the covenant in Scotland; the commissioners stipulating, on the other side, that the kingdom of Scotland, failing all peaceful endeavours to that end, should send an army into England for his restoration to the full enjoyment of his rights and revenues. That no accident might break that seal of secresy with which this transaction had hitherto been conducted, the writing itself was enclosed in lead, and buried in a garden, till some more safe opportunity occurred for conveying it away.

To the two houses, Charles replied: that "neither the desire of being freed from his tedious and irksome condition of life, nor the apprehension of worse treatment,

should ever prevail with him to give his assent to any bills as part of the agreement, until the whole had been concluded in a personal treaty." The king returned his answer to the commissioners sealed, but they insisted that it should be delivered to them open. Dreading the worst consequences, should they return without any answer, he consented, on their solemnly engaging, that after they had read the letter, no difference should be made in his present treatment. In this promise, Hammond, who appeared with the commissioners, was held by Charles to be included. No sooner, however, had the commissioners withdrawn, than Hammond, in an angry mood locked the gates, doubled the guards, and ordered the king's chaplains and attendants to quit the castle. Charles summoned the governor to his presence. He came, with a sullen, louring demeanour. A dialogue then ensued, marked, it must be confessed, hardly less by bitterness on the king's part, a bitterness which returned no more, after (in his own language) "worse" had befallen him, than by a brutal contrast, on the governor's, to that courtesy which hitherto he had shown towards his royal charge.

The King.—"Why do you use me thus? Where are your orders for it? Was it the Spirit that moved you?" (Hammond was in the habit of using the affected "godly" language of his party.) For a time the governor remained silent; he then alleged the king's answer to the commissioners.

The King.—"Did you not engage your honour you would take no advantage from thence against me?"

Hammond.—"I said nothing."

The King.—"You are an equivocating gentleman; will

you allow me any chaplain? You pretend for liberty of conscience; shall I have none?"

Hammond.—"I cannot allow you any chaplain."

The King.—"You are now neither like a gentleman nor a Christian."

Hammond.—"I'll speak with you when you are in better temper."

The King.—"I have slept well to-night."

Hammond.—"I have used you very civilly."

The King.—"Why do you not so now, then?"

Hammond.—"Sir, you are too high."

The King.—"My shoemaker is in fault, then. My shoes are of the same last, &c. (twice or thrice repeated); shall I have liberty to go about to take the air?"

Hammond.—"No, I cannot grant it."

The king then charged him with his allegiance, and told him that he "must answer this." Hammond wept. The poor man was, in fact, piteously perplexed; not with "a divided duty" merely, but with peril to his life. He probably knew that the king was at that moment meditating an escape, and had, no doubt, his orders from Cromwell what to do, in case of that rejection of the bills which the lieutenant-general expected and desired.

Charles was left in the solitude of his guarded chamber, and his banished attendants pursued their melancholy way to Newport. While conferring together there, on this new and menacing crisis of the king's affairs, a drum was heard to "beat confusedly" in the streets. It announced the rash attempt of Burley, an old royalist officer resident in the island, to raise a party for the king's rescue. The inhabitants flocked together, with shouts of

"God and King Charles." It was manifest, however, to Ashburnham, Berkley, and their companions, that so crude and feeble an enterprise must fail, and they exerted themselves successfully "to persuade those poor, well-affected people to desist." Burley, notwithstanding, was seized by Hammond's order, tried before one of Cromwell's judges, found guilty of *levying war against the king*, and executed with savage conformity to all the cruelties prescribed by the statute-book in cases of high treason.

The parliament had, in effect, constantly refused to treat with the king, by refusing to do so except upon the basis of their own inadmissible propositions. They were now, to the great joy of the independents, relieved by their victim himself from the irksome necessity of maintaining even the forms of decent respect. Immediately on the return of the commissioners to Westminster, a resolution to the following purport, drawn up by Marten, was proposed in the Commons: "That no farther addresses should be made to the king, nor any message be received from him, by the houses; and that if any person, without their leave, contravened this order, he should be liable to the penalties of treason." Sir Thomas Wroth was the first to speak in support of this proposition. Next rose Ireton, and, in a speech, the affected moderation of which presented a contrast with the coarse violence of the previous orator, said, "the king had denied that protection to the people which was the condition of obedience to him; that after long patience they should now at last show themselves resolute; that they should not desert the brave men—the many thousand godly

men—who had fought for them beyond the possibility of retreat or forgiveness, and who would never forsake the parliament unless the parliament first forsook them." After some further debate, says the writer who has recorded these speeches, Cromwell brought up the rear. It was time, he said, to answer the public expectation, that they were able and resolved to govern and defend the kingdom by their own power, and teach the people that they had nothing to hope from a man whose heart God hardened in obstinacy. "Do not," he concluded (after extolling in the highest terms the valour and godliness of the soldiers), "let the army think themselves betrayed to the rage and malice of an irreconcileable enemy, whom they have subdued for your sake, from whom they should meet revenge and justice; do not drive them to despair, lest they seek safety by other means than adhering to you, who will not stick to yourselves; and (laying his hand on his sword) how destructive such a resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to judge." The resolution passed by a majority of 141 to 92. The concurrence of the parliament, in the extremest views of the army being thus far secured, Cromwell resolved to mark this unity of object as absolute and irrevocable, by a solemn public act. A meeting of the general officers and chief agitators (now entirely reconciled, upon the principles of the levellers), was held at Windsor in the presence of the parliament's commissioners. The preliminaries of this conference were fasting and prayer. In this last exercise Cromwell and Ireton distinguished themselves in a manner worthy of the signal occasion; the "godly" were

enraptured, and described the "outpourings of the spirit" (whatever spirit it was) "which on that occasion breathed from the lips of those great men, as such sweet music as the heavens never before knew." This scene of awful profanity was acted in the royal halls of Windsor Castle! And there also, as if to fill up the hateful climax in a manner the most grotesquely incongruous, was formally adopted the resolution, long before conceived in their obscurer conclaves, that the king should be brought to trial by the nation, as a shedder of his people's blood. "We declare," say the army, in their public resolutions at this meeting, in language as explicit as it was yet prudent publicly to employ, "that we are resolved firmly to adhere to and stand by the parliament in their vote not to make any farther addresses, &c. and in what shall be farther necessary for prosecution thereof, and for the settling and securing of the parliament and kingdom, WITHOUT THE KING and AGAINST HIM, or any other that shall hereafter partake with him." Hitherto the Lords had hesitated to adopt the recent vote of the Commons:—the army's "agreement" decided them. To make all sure, the houses were farther obliged to agree in a request to Fairfax to quarter a regiment of infantry at Whitehall, and one of cavalry at the Mews, for their protection. The general complied; and presently afterwards laid aside, for a time, even the appearance which he had hitherto maintained, of executing, in his own person, the functions of his dictatorial office. Alleging exhaustion by "the multiplicity of business," he transferred to a committee of officers, at the head of whom were Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, the settlement of all affairs relating to the

army—i. e., for so it really was, to the entire interests and welfare of the nation. By such means was the imprisoned king already set aside, and a republic, or rather a military despotism, imposed upon the nation.

But loyalty, if it can be said ever to have been extinct among the people, was now rapidly rekindling in their bosoms; even the sternest of the presbyterians, except such as were silenced by the immediate dread of military violence, asserting the equity of the king's claim to be heard in a personal conference. It became necessary therefore to invest the late proceedings with some appearance of reason. A "Declaration" was consequently prepared to vindicate their necessity and justice. In this famous document was brought together the whole mass of errors and crimes, real and imaginary, with which the government was chargeable, from, and even before, the king's accession. The failures, the exactions, the illegal punishments, the bloodshed,—in short, all the grievances embodied in their first remonstrance on the state of the kingdom, and every calumny added in subsequent declarations, were raked together, and, with other charges, hitherto unheard of, or suffered to sleep in the obscure recesses of slander, were exhibited in the darkest colours which malevolence could command. It was more than insinuated that the death of King James had been caused by poison, administered to him through the contrivance of Charles and the Duke of Buckingham. On this point even Selden rose to vindicate the king. He had been, he said, one of the committee nominated to investigate the causes of King James's death, and he remembered nothing in the evidence which reflected on his majesty. He there-

fore moved the omission of that clause, but was put down by the republicans, who threatened him with instant expulsion.

Yet the parliament's "Declaration" was thought less forcible than might have been expected from the talents and malignity of its authors, employed on a field of mistake and misfortune so extensive, calamitous, and obnoxious to prejudice and misrepresentation. It was not left, however, to work its effects unanswered. Charles published a counter-declaration from his own hand; and a more regular and minute defence appeared from the pen of the faithful Hyde. In the king's appeal to his people, having vindicated his desire, and his frequent endeavours to settle a peace, and pointed out the grounds on which his rejection of the four bills was both reasonable and inevitable, he proceeds, as follows, with a statement, certainly not too highly coloured, of his patience under the severe treatment he was then suffering: "That by the permission of Almighty God, I am reduced to this sad condition, as I no way repine, so I am not without hope but that the same God will, in due time, convert these afflictions unto my advantage. In the meantime, I am content to bear these crosses with patience and a great equality of mind; but by what means or occasion I am come to this relapse in my affairs, I am utterly to seek, especially when I consider that I have sacrificed to my two houses of parliament, for the peace of the kingdom, all but what is more dear to me than my life, my conscience and honour; desiring nothing more than to perform it in the most proper and natural way, a personal treaty . . . .

"And now I would know," he eloquently concludes, "what it is that is desired: is it peace? I have showed the way, being both willing and desirous to perform my part in it, which is a just compliance with all chief interests. Is it plenty and happiness? They are the inseparable effects of peace. Is it security? I, who wish that all men would forgive and forget, like me, have offered the militia for my time. Is it liberty of conscience? He who wants it is most ready to give it. But if I may not be heard, let every one judge who it is that obstructs the good I would or might do. What is it that men are afraid to hear from me? It cannot be reason (at least, none will declare themselves so unreasonable as to confess it), and it can less be impertinent or unreasonable discourses; for thereby, peradventure, I might more justify this my restraint than the causes themselves can do: so that, of all wonders yet, this is the greatest to me. But it may easily be gathered, how those men intend to govern who have used me thus: and if it be my hard fate to fall, together with the liberty of this kingdom, I shall not blush for myself, but much lament the future miseries of my people; the which I shall still pray to God to avert, whatever becomes of me."

Cromwell, in the meantime, not fully assured of Hammond, was prosecuting an anxious and subtile correspondence, designed to confirm that functionary in obedience to the directions and the views of his masters. The following letter is highly characteristic, both of the writer and his correspondent:—"DEAREST ROBIN,—Now (blessed be God) I can write, and thou receive,

freely. I never in my life saw more deep sense, and less will to show it unchristianly, than in that which thou didst write to us at Windsor; and though in the midst of thy temptation, which indeed (by what we understood of it) was a great one, and occasioned the greater by the letter the general sent thee, of which thou wast not mistaken when thou didst challenge me to be the penner. How good has God been to dispose all to mercy! And although it was trouble for the present, yet glory is come out of it, for which we praise the Lord with thee, and for thee; and truly thy carriage has been such as occasions much honour to the name of God and religion. Go on in the strength of the Lord, and the Lord be still with thee! But, dear Robin, this business hath been (I trust) a mighty providence to this poor kingdom, and to us all. The House of Commons is very sensible of the king's dealings, and of our brethren's, in this late transaction. You should do well, if you have any thing that may discover juggling, to search it out, and let us know it; it may be of admirable use at this time; because we shall (I hope) instantly go upon businesses in relation to them tending to prevent danger. . . . . Let us know how it is with you in point of strength, and what you need from us; some of us think the king well with you, and that it concerns us to keep that island in great security, because of the French, &c.; and if so, where can the king be better? If you have more force, you will [be] sure of full provision for them. The Lord bless thee: pray for thy dear friend and servant,

"O. CROMWELL."

The measures, regarding the secure possession of the king, which were taken by the parliament after the vote of non-addresses, were such as are indicated in this curious epistle. The houses confirmed the precautions of Hammond by an order for the dissolution of the royal household, authorising *the general* to appoint attendants on the king, in any number not exceeding thirty; a vote, presently afterwards superseded by one which referred it to Hammond "to appoint *eight* such persons as *he* should think fit," with full liberty to "place and displace" at pleasure. Troops were, at the same time, marched into the island; and Rainsborough (originally a seaman, though latterly colonel of a regiment under Fairfax), being appointed to the command of the fleet, with the view at once of satisfying the fiercest among the republicans as to the sincerity with which the "grandees" had embraced the regicidal cause, and of setting aside Warwick, the presbyterian, was ordered round with his ships to blockade the island. In carrying this last precautionary measure into effect, an important difficulty occurred.

CHAPTER XIV.

POPULAR INDIGNATION—SECOND WAR.

THE late republican vote had opened the eyes of the people. Blood of theirs had been lavishly shed—treasure to an enormous amount, wrung from the sinews of the commonalty, or obtained by casting out to confiscation and beggary the ancient nobility of the land, had been squandered—its most venerable institutions subverted—on pretence of restoring the nation to a state of freedom and happiness. And what was the result, as now seen and felt by all? Three great parties, each irreconcileably hostile to both the others, poured over every district, town, hamlet, hearth, and bosom, the bitterness of social hatred and division. One estate of the legislature, having first usurped the proper functions of the whole, had then seized those of the executive, and was now itself being swallowed up in the despotism of its mercenary instruments. More than a year had elapsed since the army of the parliament had been left victorious, and without an enemy; but the exactions necessary for its maintenance, instead of being abolished, had increased; and still it continued clamorous for more pay, as well as larger power, though every post of authority and emolument in the realm was already occupied either by its officers.

mostly low-born and insolent men, or by its obsequious creatures in that degraded assembly which still bore the name of an English parliament. The sovereign (to surround whose throne with constitutional landmarks, which a dutiful and affectionate people were never, on their side, to overpass, had been held forth as the sufficient object of seven years of strife), was now a captive in a remote fortress, denied the privilege of negotiating with his rebellious subjects, and denied in terms which intimated a purpose to supersede his office by the introduction of an arbitrary form of government, unknown to the constitution, and alien to the habits and wishes of the people, and even obscurely to countenance the rumours current that he was destined to perish on the scaffold or in the dungeon. Such were those circumstances that engaged the thoughts, and supplied the conversation, of the people; of whom three-fourths had either retained the old loyalty of Englishmen, through those struggles which they had been taught to regard as no less needful for the king's welfare than their own, or, if extinguished for a season, felt it now rekindle from indignation against their betrayers. The press, never more energetic than throughout this period, lent its aid in spite of penalties; the king's immediate friends, though uncertain and disunited, were variously active; in short, the whole country appeared to heave with throes of indignant agitation, and the renewal of that unnatural and disastrous war began, on all sides, to be apprehended.

The general discontent, as usual, first found a voice in petitions, which were poured into the parliament from

many quarters, but all concurring in the same prayer for the return of the king. The petition from the county of Surrey, though distinguished by its bold and constitutional language, marks, with a little allowance, the general style of these addresses. On its presentation, which was attended by a large body of the petitioners, a quarrel took place between the populace and the military, at the doors of the House of Commons, in which blood was shed. Similar disturbances broke out at the principal towns in Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Cornwall, and other counties. But the most serious tumults arose in the city of London. Either as serviceable adherents, or as thorns in their sides, the parliament had, from the beginning, found the apprentices of London taking an eager interest in all their proceedings. That this interest had long ceased to be favourable, was probably owing, at first, less to the encroachments of the House of Commons upon the more important liberties of the subject, than to restrictions imposed upon the enjoyments of the youthful and laborious portions of the community by the sour spirit of puritanism. The ancient sports and pastimes of the people were forbidden as utterly unsanctified; holidays were exchanged for fasts; the Sunday itself was invested with an air of Levitical severity, offensive to the national feeling, perhaps inconsistent with the gracious temper of Christianity. Not long previously to the date now before us, the apprentices had obtained by petition from the legislature the boon of a play-day once a month. It was, apparently, while not strictly confining themselves within the limits of this notable remnant of English liberty, that

eager on their part for an outbreak, they began to dispute with the guard, who were placed to enforce the prohibitory ordinance. Partisans collected, weapons were drawn, the guard was overpowered; the militia, assembling to suppress the riot, shared in the discomfiture of their brethren, and took refuge in houses from the popular fury, but not till several persons had been killed or wounded. The cry of "God and king Charles" was now raised on all sides, and some disbanded officers and soldiers joining with the citizens, they got possession of Ludgate and other defensible posts, drove the Lord Mayor within the ramparts of the Tower, and boldly advanced against the troops at Westminster. Cromwell, eager to seize any tolerable pretext for crushing the power of his enemies in the metropolis, charged, and, after an obstinate resistance, dispersed the tumultuous masses. The like ill-success attended other desultory risings. But these uncertain flashes were quickly followed by steadier fires of loyal insurrection. It becoming manifest that the army must be withdrawn from the neighbourhood of London, and that its best officers must again buckle on their harness, the independent leaders sought an appearance of reconciliation with the city. By their direction, the parliament voted that no change should be made in the fundamental government of the realm by king, lords, and commons: the citizens, in return, engaging "to live and die with the parliament," the city was once more allowed to take charge of its militia, under their old commander Skippon, and Whitehall and the Mews were relieved from the presence of Fairfax's troops.

Wholly unprepared for systematic action themselves, the king's friends were every where looking anxiously towards the north, in expectation of those warlike preparations among the Scots which were to be the signal of a general rising. Rage against the independents, coupled with a report that Charles had secretly signed the covenant and engaged to enforce it in both kingdoms, excited a degree of enthusiasm, for a time, throughout Scotland. But the publication of the actual terms of the engagement with the king again stifled every loyal feeling in that factious country. The English loyalists grew impatient at waiting for their ambiguous and dilatory allies. It was nevertheless a casual accident that drew out the first open declaration for the king. Poyer, who held a colonel's commission under the parliament, and was intrusted with the governorship of Pembroke Castle, was among those who had agreed to declare themselves as soon as the Scots appeared upon the border. His movements had however excited suspicion, and Colonel Fleming suddenly appeared before the walls of Pembroke, bearing Fairfax's orders to take the command. Poyer refused to give up his commission, raised the royal standard, and repulsed Fleming on his attempting to take forcible possession of the castle. The Welsh cavaliers, led by Colonel Langhorne, flew to arms, surprised Chepstow, and laid siege to Caernarvon. Horton was sent against the insurgents, but with so little success, that Cromwell deemed it expedient once more to take the field in person. His appearance in the principality, at the head of his veterans, was, as every where else, the signal of disaster to the royal cause. Langhorne was defeated;

Chepstow recovered; Caernarvon relieved, with the destruction of the besiegers. Still Poyer proclaimed defiance from Pembroke. Cromwell resolving to carry the fortress in his usual sudden manner, prepared the troops, by exciting harangues from himself and his fierce chaplains, for an overpowering assault at midnight. Heated with fanatical enthusiasm, and eager to follow their great captain to a fresh series of victories, they dashed across the ditch, scaled the ramparts, and were about to throw themselves upon the garrison, whom they thought unprepared, when on a sudden they found themselves attacked with the utmost fury; and, after a short but sanguinary conflict, were compelled to return to their camp. For more than six weeks the bravery of Poyer detained the impatient lieutenant-general before this petty fortress.

The men of Kent had, in the meantime, remembered their ancient loyalty. Commotions, demonstrative of the popular temper, had occurred at Canterbury as early as Christmas-day, when the mayor and aldermen were roughly handled by the citizens for insisting that the usual business of the market should be transacted on that holy festival. The deputy-lieutenants, creatures of the independent party, were proceeding summarily to inflict the punishment of traitors on the persons apprehended in this tumult, when their design was arrested by a more formidable insurrection, in which the people seized the military posts, and filled the air with cries of "God, King Charles, and Kent!" In the absence of superior leaders (for the men of influence in the county kept themselves aloof till the appearance of the Scots), a gentleman named Hales

aspired to impart consistency and purpose to the loyal emotions which agitated his county. Though known only as the youthful heir to a baronetcy, his summons to the loyalists of Kent was eagerly obeyed; associations were formed, arms collected, troops disciplined, in his name. The spirit which prevailed on land had early communicated itself to the neighbouring fleet in the Downs. The parliament hoped that the authority of Rainsborough would smother every disposition to mutiny. While traversing Kent, however, the admiral was by no means confirmed in this expectation; and on arriving at Deal, he hastened to go on board. As he approached his vessel, observing probably some marks of disorder on board, he began, in the rough imperious tone habitual to him, to issue his commands. The seamen, assembled on the deck, answered by refusing to admit him on board, and tauntingly desiring him to return to the parliament and acquaint them that they were the king's fleet, and had resolved to serve his majesty. Then dismissing, in a similar manner, all other officers whom they suspected of unwillingness to concur with them, they weighed anchor, and stood over for Holland, to take on board the Duke of York, whom they chose for their admiral-in-chief.

A body of the Kentish cavaliers appeared on Blackheath, expecting to be joined by the inhabitants of London, but finding themselves confronted instead by Fairfax, who marched through the metropolis to give them battle, they fell back upon Rochester and Maidstone. In Maidstone, the insurgents made a vigorous stand, maintaining, for six hours, an obstinate contest for the possession of the town; but their loss was proportionate to their valour.

Two hundred fell in the streets; twice that number were taken prisoners: discouraged by this defeat, many of those who escaped returned to their homes. The party who had taken refuge in Rochester, now led by Goring, to whom Hales had yielded the post of honour, once more advanced to Blackheath and sought the co-operation of the city. For a time the parliament was exposed to imminent danger. No armed force was now at hand to support their authority; the city swarmed with royalists; the news of Hamilton's advance, which was expected hourly, would probably at once decide the common council to declare for the king. Fortunately for them, the adoption of still more conciliatory measures was facilitated by the absence of the officers with the army. The imprisoned aldermen were set at liberty; the impeachment of the six peers was abandoned; the eleven excluded members were allowed to return to their seats. These concessions, with the immediate prospect of others, all denoting the returning ascendency of the presbyterians, decided the city; and Goring, in no condition to cope with Fairfax, now advancing in his rear, crossed the Thames into Essex, where he was welcomed by Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and other gentlemen and officers of name, who with a considerable levy were in arms to support the men of Kent. The royalists now formed a body of about 3000 horse and foot, "with officers," says Clarendon, "enough to have commanded a very good army." Wholly incompetent as this force must have proved to encounter Fairfax in the field, it appeared to Goring sufficient to maintain itself in a position of strength until the result of the other

movements for the king could be ascertained. With this purpose he threw himself into Colchester: the town was without any regular defence; but Goring, relying on his own resources and the constancy of his gallant cavaliers, hastily erected works before the avenues, and bade defiance to the parliamentarians, who presently made their appearance.

Forty thousand troops was the number for which Hamilton succeeded in extorting a vote from the Scottish parliament, in the midst of the fiercest opposition from Argyle and the faction of the Kirk; but when, in July, the army mustered on the southern frontier, it did not exceed one-third of that amount, and many even of these had been brought to their standards by force, in some instances not without bloodshed; they were besides ill provided with arms and ammunition. At length Hamilton announced to Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Musgrave, who had agreed to co-operate with him in the north of England, that his preparations were nearly completed, and desired them to fulfil their engagements. His orders were promptly and successfully obeyed. At dawn, on a market-day in Berwick, a hundred cavaliers, with Langdale at their head, deployed from the bridge-foot on the English side, and being joined by a party simultaneously collected in the town, took such quiet possession of the place, that ere an hour had elapsed the drawbridge was again lowered, the ports opened, and the market proceeded without farther interruption. At the same time, and with equal facility, Carlisle was seized by Musgrave. The loyal inhabitants of Northumberland, and the adjoining counties, instantly appeared in arms; and Langdale

was preparing to lead them against Lambert, the parliament's general in the north, when he was interrupted by directions and entreaties from Hamilton, that nothing more might be done till the Scottish army had come up, for fear of farther exasperating the jealousy of the covenanters.

It was on the 8th that the Scots, preceded by rumours which at least tripled their numbers, crossed the border. Monroe, however, the Scottish general in Ireland, having wafted home his veterans, 3,000 strong, followed in the rear, whilst Langdale, with 4,000 gallant English, who had staked their all on the issue, led the van by the appointment of the duke, who himself assumed the chief command. A determined movement on London might have crushed the independents, and saved the king; for Cromwell yet lay before the walls of Pembroke, Fairfax and Ireton were busy at the siege of Colchester, and Lambert, after skirmishing with Langdale, had retreated before him, soliciting aid from Cromwell. But if Hamilton's courage and ability were equal to the enterprise he had undertaken, he was restrained by party policy, and the jealousies and disputes of the camp. Forty days had elapsed before this luckless armament had completed a march of eighty miles. The main body then attained the banks of the Ribble, near Preston in Lancashire; Langdale being still far in advance, while Monroe, with the rearguard, lay thirty miles off at Kirby, in Westmoreland.

Cromwell, seldom so long held in check, had at length succeeded in reducing Pembroke, and had taken Poyer and his brave associates Langhorne and Powell. He

instantly marched northward, and, forming a junction with Lambert at Knaresborough, determined to attack the invaders with the advantage afforded him by their straggling march. Sir Marmaduke, on whom the whole strength of the roundheads fell at once, was forced, after a stout resistance, to give way before their numbers and impetuosity. Retiring to the entrance of a narrow road which led to Preston, the cavaliers obstinately disputed the ground for six hours, against overpowering odds, without the smallest support from their allies. At the entrance to the town they were joined by Hamilton, with his guard of horse and a few officers, but in such disorder as merely to add to the confusion of the retreat. In the streets the fight was resumed, and continued to the bridge, over which Bayley, with the Scottish foot, had just marched. At this point the contest was again hotly renewed, Cromwell's infantry and "the Lancashire regiments being" (in the words of the lieutenant-general's animated despatch) "long engaged at push of pike. At length," he continues, "they were beaten from the bridge, and our horse and foot following them, killed many, and took divers prisoners, and we possessed the bridge and a few houses there, where we lay that night, the enemy being drawn up within musket-shot of us." This refers to such of the wearied and overmatched English as still kept together, for the Scots were by this time in rapid retreat. Nothing could exceed the dismay and disorder of this night-march, the roads being bad, the weather rainy, and the whole army distracted with terror of the victorious foe. With the morning the pursuit was again renewed, and continued to Warrington, where Bayley,

though strongly posted upon a bridge, in command of 6,000 men, surrendered to Cromwell without a blow. The duke, in the meantime, accompanied by his principal officers and a few troops of cavalry, had wandered to Uttoxeter, where falling in with a party of the Lord Grey of Groby's men, whom Cromwell's vigilance had roused to the pursuit, he yielded himself to their mercy, with his own hand stripping off his scarf, george, and sword, and resigning them to the officer in command. Langdale shared the fate of his unfortunate commander. Having disbanded his remaining followers, he was taken in a village inn near Nottingham, where, in disguise, he had sought shelter. Never was victory so complete obtained at smaller cost; for after the dispersion of the English under Langdale, not fifty men fell on the side of the victors; whilst of the Scots, except the division under Monroe, and the stragglers who succeeded in joining him, none recrossed the border. Such was the disgraceful issue of an expedition, in the van of which, on its setting forth, its vain leader is described as marching "with his life-guard and trumpeters before him, all in scarlet cloaks full of silver lace, in great state, with standards and equipage like a prince!" While the parliament were suspending those dishonoured standards in Westminster Hall, and offering public thanksgiving for their victory, Cromwell followed up the disastrous blow by a march upon Edinburgh, to extinguish the remaining power of the Hamiltonians.

Not less disgraceful, in its degree, proved an enterprise undertaken at the same time by the Earl of Holland, who, though implicated in all the measures of the presby-

terians, had sufficient interest to procure a commission from Paris to raise an army for the king. Affecting scorn of all precaution against the independents, he openly made his house in London the general rendezvous of the royalists; and, on the same day on which the Scots moved towards England, he also, at the head of a party of 500 cavaliers in warlike array, several of them noblemen and gentlemen of the highest quality, marched out of the city, and fixed his quarters at Kingston in Surrey. On the second day, through the negligence of his chief military officer, Dalbier, the earl's party was surprised, and dispersed by Colonel Rich's horse. At St. Neot's, whither he fled with about a hundred followers, he was a second time attacked, and taken. Dalbier was slain, and with him the son of Sir Kenelm Digby; but the most lamented loss in this contemptible insurrection was that of Lord Francis Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham's brother, who fell, refusing quarter, in the affray at Kingston. The duke himself escaped into the Netherlands, and the earl had leisure, during a long imprisonment in Warwick Castle, to brood over the rashness of this attempt to retrieve—what nothing could have retrieved—his reputation as a loyal subject of the king.

During these disastrous transactions, Fairfax, with Ireton as nominally second in command, but in reality supreme, was prosecuting the siege of Colchester. The particulars of this siege still survive in the popular remembrance; in the journal printed by Rushworth, and in other authentic accounts, it abounds in painful and stirring incident. Indefatigable in exertion, of heroic

bravery, patient of the extremest privation, the devoted band who there rallied round Goring, have consecrated with the odour of loyalty that otherwise homely town. For many weeks, abjuring all thoughts of a surrender, they fought cheerfully, surrounded by famine and conflagration; because they could not be persuaded, that while the heart of the nation was yearning for the king's return,—while the royal standard was actually floating, or ready to be raised, over half England,—while an army, which they fondly believed both brave and devoted to the cause, was advancing towards the capital, they would be ultimately left unsuccoured within the walls they had so well defended in his name. One after another, however, these hopes were extinguished by the successes of the republican army, or by the deplorable incapacity and mismanagement of the king's friends. The discomfiture of the Scots closed the door against hope from arms. Another prospect of relief might indeed remain: the presbyterian party had for a time recovered its influence and courage; and the parliament, once more under their management, had repealed the vote of no more addresses, and resolved to open a treaty with the king in the Isle of Wight. But men who were reduced to live on the putrid flesh of horses, and on more disgusting substances, and could not calculate upon a scanty supply even of such food for to-morrow, were unable to wait the issue of a tedious negotiation. They offered Fairfax to capitulate; who answered, that the common soldiers might expect quarter, but that the officers must surrender at discretion. No alternative remained but to agree to these terms, or perish. They accepted them; and while Fair-

G.Cattermole.

C.Mottram

fax's council deliberated on their fate, were required to assist its deliberations by furnishing a list of all the names of the captives. Presently afterwards a guard was sent to conduct to execution Sir George Lisle, Sir Charles Lucas, and a Florentine gentleman, called in the histories Sir Bernard Gascoigne, but whose true name was Guasconi, whom the council had selected to die, "for the example of others, and that the peace of the kingdom might no more be disturbed in that manner." Lucas, the first to suffer, tearing open his doublet, exclaimed to the musketeers who were drawn up in readiness, "Fire, rebels!" and instantly fell. Lisle ran to him, kissed his dead body, and turning to the soldiers, desired them to advance nearer. One of them replied: "Fear not, sir, we shall hit you." "Friends," he answered, smiling, "I have been nearer when you have missed me." Guasconi, as a foreigner, was pardoned. Lord Capel, and the remaining prisoners of note, sent to Fairfax while this tragedy was in progress, entreating that either it might be forborne, or that as they had all alike been guilty, if guilt there were, they might all die together; a request which Capel afterwards addressed in person, for himself, to Ireton; but the council choosing to reserve him and Goring for a different fate, they were sent to Windsor Castle, and afterwards committed to the Tower.

To the history of the miserable series of disasters by which the second civil war was precipitated to a close, it would be merely adding a congenial page, were we to trace the movements of that portion of the fleet whose revolt was hailed as a bright omen by the royalists. The

intrigues of courtiers without a court,—the absence of command, where all sought to be commanders,—above all, the want of money to procure stores and provisions,—quenched, ere it had blazed to any purpose, the enthusiasm of the seamen. Six weeks the Prince of Wales, who had nominally taken the command, lay idly upon the English coast, without even attempting the release of his royal father, from a captivity become every day more fearful both in its sufferings and its prospects. The commerce of London was intercepted by the royalists, and the captured vessels again given up in return for petty sums or dubious promises of adherence; but Warwick, now reinstated in his command, was at sea with a force little inferior to the prince's, and the prudent citizens determined to abide the result of a collision between the hostile fleets. During two days the royalists offered battle, which, however, the presbyterian admiral avoided: on the next, Charles's factious council persuaded him to return to the coast of Holland. Thither he was afterwards followed by Warwick, but at a distance which intimated still an unwillingness to engage.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CATASTROPHE.

CROMWELL'S "dearest Robin" was entirely won over, and performed his part with admirable fidelity to his employers. Except confinement to a single apartment, nothing was wanting to constitute the king's condition one of strict captivity. Four soldiers selected for their devotedness to the army, were intrusted with the immediate charge of his person; of whom two, succeeding to the task by rotation, were constantly present with him. During his meals, at his public devotions, and in such recreations as could be had within the narrow limits of his prison—a game at bowls, or a walk upon the walls of Carisbrooke, Charles was still accompanied by his keepers; when he retired to the seclusion of his private chamber, one of them took his post as sentinel at either door. These irksome restraints, however, he was enabled to bear with more than his habitual patience; for adversity had supplied him with the considerateness of self-knowledge, and opened in his heart sources of latent sympathy with his fellow-men; and in return he had the consolation of meeting, in this extremity of his fortunes, with instances of devotedness, more generous, if not more sincere, than he had known in his days of prosperity.

Firebrace, a discarded page, contrived to get himself occasionally employed by one of the warders to keep watch at the door of the king's bed-chamber, and at such times, by conversing with him and by passing and receiving papers through a crevice in the wainscot, supplied the royal captive with information respecting the progress of affairs without, and assisted him to maintain a constant correspondence with the queen, the princes, and the leading royalists in England and Scotland. Osborne, who officiated as gentleman usher, and in that capacity held the king's gloves at meal-time, likewise kept up a secret intelligence with him by means of letters concealed within the fingers. It was this person who denounced the attempt of Rolfe, captain of the guard at the castle, to carry off and destroy the king. Pretending to be persuaded by Rolfe, who sought to engage him as an accomplice, he purposed to enable Charles to avail himself of this opportunity to escape; but the design failed, in consequence of Rolfe's suspicions being roused; and Hammond, presenting himself in the king's chamber, found the royal prisoner in bed, but the iron bar of the window by which he had intended to escape sawn through, and removed from its place.

The measures of the constitutional or presbyterian party in the parliament towards an accommodation with the king, proceeded with a degree of dilatoriness strangely at variance with the urgency of the case, and the rapidity of events without. At length Cromwell's victory over the Scots stimulated them to greater activity, and on the 15th of September, fifteen commissioners, five lords and ten commoners, appointed to conduct the negotiations, on

their part, met Charles at Newport. A numerous body of the king's friends, including several bishops, his chaplains, lawyers, and such privy counsellors as had taken no part in the war against the parliament, were permitted to attend and in private assist him with their advice; but not to take any part in the debates, which were sustained by the king alone in person. From the 18th of September to the 27th of November, 1648, the discussions were lengthened out. Daily throughout that long period, a contest of arguments on the most important political and religious subjects was carried on by Charles; in the course of which the eminent and practised statesmen opposed to him were struck, not more by the clearness of his intellect, his readiness in debate, and the extent of his information, than by the mildness and dignity of his deportment. Sir Harry Vane, who represented the independent or republican party at the conferences, and had been foremost among those who affected to regard the king as a weak-minded person, now acknowledged that he had been deceived; for that he found him "a man of great parts and abilities." "The king is much changed," observed the Earl of Salisbury, another of the commissioners, to Sir Philip Warwick; "he is extremely improved of late." "No," replied Sir Philip, "he was always so, but you are now at last sensible of it." Changed he was indeed, outwardly; for the loyal hearts gathered round him on that occasion were deeply grieved by the traces of suffering and anxiety manifest in his appearance.

The pertinacious obstinacy of the presbyterians (if not in part assumed, in order to convince their

opponents of their courage and consistency), appears, when politically viewed, scarcely less astonishing than any other particular in the extraordinary series of incidents which our subject has brought under consideration. Of the rigour of their former propositions, as presented at Newcastle and Hampton Court, nothing whatever was abated; as before at Uxbridge, the commissioners were not empowered to concede, or to modify any article, but were obliged to submit every proposition of the king's, which they judged worthy of consideration, to be debated at Westminster. Thus, before any thing had been concluded, Fairfax's army, augmented by several regiments sent home by Cromwell, flushed with victory and demanding revenge and empire, had already returned to the vicinity of the metropolis: Hammond received, but disregarded, an order to confine the king again in Carisbrooke Castle; while the republicans were every where stimulating the people to oppose any settlement not sealed with the blood of their king. The result of the treaty, wrung from the unfortunate prince by the dire necessity of his position, rather than by the argument and persuasions of the other side, was the surrender of the militia with every other essential power and prerogative of royalty; but on two points he remained immoveable. Required to consent to the abolition of episcopacy, without the toleration even of his own or his consort's private worship, and to abandon his friends and adherents to the vengeance of his victors, he refused. In vain Hollis and the other presbyterians implored him, with tears in their eyes, to concede every thing. Charles took leave of the

commissioners with unshaken firmness of purpose, though with unwonted sadness. "My lords," he addressed them, in a tone of voice which drew tears from his attendants, "I believe we shall scarce ever see each other again; but God's will be done! I have made my peace with him, and shall undergo without fear whatever he may suffer men to do to me. My lords, you cannot but know that in my fall and ruin you see your own, and that also near you. I pray God send you better friends than I have found. I am fully informed of the carriage of them who plot against me and mine; but nothing affects me so much as the feeling I have of the sufferings of my subjects, and the mischief that hangs over my three kingdoms, drawn upon them by those who, upon pretences of good, violently pursue their own interests and ends." In a similar strain he concluded an admirable letter addressed to Prince Charles, detailing the progress and close of the negotiations, and conveying his last counsels to the prince: "We know not but this may be the last time we may speak to you, or the world, publicly: we are sensible into what hands we are fallen; and yet we bless God we have those inward refreshments the malice of our enemies cannot perturb. We have learned to busy ourself by retiring into ourself; and therefore can the better digest what befalls us; not doubting but God's providence will restrain the power of our enemies, and turn their fierceness to his praise. . . . If God gives you success, use it humbly and far from revenge. If he restore you to your right upon hard conditions, whatever you promise, keep. These men who have forced laws which they were bound to preserve, will

find their triumphs full of troubles. Do not you think any thing in this world worth the obtaining by foul and unjust means. . . . . As we direct you to weigh what we here recommend to you, so we assure you we do not more affectionately pray for you, to whom we are a natural parent, than we do that the ancient glory and renown of this nation be not buried in irreligion and fanatic humour; that all our subjects, to whom we are a politic parent, may have such sober thoughts as to seek their peace in the orthodox profession of the Christian religion, as it was established since the reformation in this kingdom, and not in new revelations; and that the ancient laws, with the interpretation according to the known practice, may once again be a hedge about them."

In obedience to an order which he had received from Fairfax to resign the charge of the king, and repair to him at Windsor, Hammond departed with the commissioners, leaving Charles in the custody of two officers, of whom one was Rolfe. The next day secret intelligence was conveyed to the king that a military force was on its way to seize and once more place him in the immediate custody of the army. His attendants conjured him to save his life by instant flight, for which every thing was arranged, and the night which succeeded favourable; but Charles, previously to the treaty, had given his parole not to quit the island within twenty days after its termination, nor would he listen to any arguments tending to excuse the violation of his word. Early the following morning (the 30th of November), he was roused from sleep by a summons to depart. A troop of horse and a company of foot, conducted him from the

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island, and at noon he found himself a close prisoner in Hurst Castle, a comfortless block-house on a narrow unwholesome line of beach, projecting two or three miles from the coast of Hampshire.

The last deadly struggle between the army and the parliament, begun by this final seizure of the king, was maintained by the latter with a courage, the issue indeed of despair, which recalls the better times of that assembly. Ten days before the conclusion of the treaty, a remonstrance against it was presented by the army to the House of Commons. Signed by Fairfax and all his officers, this terrible paper, the production, it is said, of Ireton, embodied, in explicit language, all those menaces and suggestions which, a few months earlier, were portentously whispered in the dark conclaves of the agitators, and for the untimely utterance of which blood was shed at Ware by those who now proclaimed the same views to the world as their determined objects. It called for justice on the king as the capital source of all the public grievances, and prescribed a democratic constitution for the kingdom. The presbyterians parried by successive large majorities this attempt to overwhelm them. A second more violent declaration was sent in, denouncing the majority of the house as apostates from their former principles, and threatening its purgation as the only means, should they persist, of putting an end to the treaty. The house calmly proceeded in hearing the commissioners from the Isle of Wight, who were then making their report, and at its close resolved to take into consideration the concessions made by the king. The debate, unparalleled hitherto, in the House of Commons,

for its length and vehemence, terminated, in spite of the efforts of Vane and the independents, by a vote, carried on a division by a majority of 140 to 104, that those concessions furnished a sufficient ground for the future settlement of the kingdom. Meanwhile the army, in anticipation of this result, and in perfect contempt of a vote of the houses ordering that the troops should not approach the metropolis, had marched upon the city, and were distributed at Whitehall, the Mews, St. James's, and in the adjacent suburbs. Early the next morning, the city guard was withdrawn from the houses of parliament, and the posts were occupied by a regiment of horse and another of foot, under the command of Sir Hardress Waller and Colonel Pride, "the drayman" as he was called. This officer stationed himself at the door of the House of Commons, with a list in his hands, containing the names of members whom a committee of republicans had previously marked as hostile, or doubtful; by his side stood Lord Grey of Groby, to assist in identifying these persons as they made their appearance. About one-third of the presbyterian majority of 150 were by this process arrested, and placed in confinement; and the same course being pursued, on the two following days, for the exclusion of the remainder, the number of members was reduced to about fifty, all known friends to "the cause." This extraordinary outrage, perpetrated in the name of freedom and justice, was long familiarly known as "Pride's Purge:" in the same quaint dialect of a rude age; the contemptible residue that usurped the name of parliament, bore the equally well-remembered appellation of

"the Rump." Cromwell, all whose movements were timed with consummate judgment, did not arrive in London till the second day after the purification of the Commons. It was sufficient that his spirit, imbibed, in some cases unconsciously, by others, shaped the proceedings of the army, and ruled events in subservience to his ends; his personal interference he reserved for seasons when the energy or the acuteness of his subordinates should be at fault. Enough, for the present, that the sword waved openly over the legislative benches. He cared not, that men should remember how he had long before predicted the future necessity of such an act of violence to be performed by the army; yet he had not hesitated to ascribe it, now that it had taken place, to the direct inspiration of the Almighty! He was conducted by the soldiery with acclamations of joy to the royal apartments in Whitehall, and on the same day he received the thanks of the parliament for his eminent services: the houses then resolved on an adjournment of some days, to afford time for the council of the army, now in effect the government, to debate the more momentous question concerning the mode of proceeding against the king.

That Charles's life was to be made a sacrifice, had already been determined. Several motives, springing from the respective tempers and views of the men, had conspired to unite this band of daring and enthusiastic spirits, acting in the name of a nation which viewed their deeds with astonishment and abhorrence, in the terrible resolution to offer to the world the spectacle, then unexampled in its annals, of a sovereign prince arraigned before a tribunal of his subjects, and led forth to public execution.

Some few fell into the design from policy; they had offended beyond the rational hope of forgiveness, and now covered their just dread of retribution under an exaggerated alarm at the king's want of good faith in his engagements, should he ever be restored to power; or sought to avert the eyes of justice and the world from the guilt themselves had hitherto incurred, by rendering the whole nation accessary to a deed which might paralyze vengeance itself with horror. Others were actuated by malignant thirst of revenge on one whom they had so long regarded as an enemy; again, others were impelled by a burning desire to carry out some generous, perhaps, but visionary scheme of government: and both these classes justified their ends, wholly or in part, on religious grounds; which, in wild variety, constituted, in those times, the real or pretended basis of almost all men's more serious public actions. It was held by many that historical incidents in the Old Testament, or the oracles of the Hebrew prophets, distorted by ignorance and misapplied by passion, furnished, not hints and examples alone, but authoritative rules and precepts, for the political conduct of Englishmen; and that, to shrink from any act necessary to the establishment of the kingdom of Christ and his saints upon the ruins of temporal authorities, was to incur the terrible execrations denounced against the enemies of God. Of such enthusiasts, Harrison was among the fiercest; Hutchinson and Ludlow among the most honest and sober-minded. "I did it all," declared the first, "according to the best of my understanding, desiring to make the revealed will of God in his holy scriptures my guide."

Ludlow has left on record, as his ample justification, that he was fully "persuaded that an accommodation with the king was unsafe for the people of England, and unjust and wicked in the nature of it. The former, besides that it was obvious to all men, the king himself had proved, by the duplicity of his dealing with the parliament, which manifestly appeared in his own papers, taken at Naseby and elsewhere. Of the latter I was convinced by the express words of God's law; 'that blood defileth the land, and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it.' (Numb. xxxv. 33.) And therefore I could not consent to the counsels of those who contented to leave the guilt of so much blood upon the nation, and thereby to draw down the just vengeance of God upon us all, when it was most evident that the war had been occasioned by the invasion of our rights, and open breach of our constitution, on the king's part." Similar is the vindication offered by Mrs. Hutchinson of her husband's conduct as a regicide: "Although he did not then believe but it might one day come to be again disputed among men, yet both he and others thought they could not refuse it without giving up the people of God, whom they had led forth and engaged themselves unto by the oath of God, into the hands of God's and their enemies; and therefore he cast himself upon God's protection, acting according to the dictates of a conscience which he had sought the Lord to guide."

As to Cromwell, there can be no reasonable doubt, that the deep under-current of his mind took the same course as early, and maintained it as steadily, as that of his

most zealous confederates, however he might find it expedient to conceal his settled purpose under affected indifference, or a hypocritical show of sympathy for the king. Before he set out on his campaign in the second war, he arranged several meetings of the leading republicans, both in the parliament and army, expressly to ascertain their sentiments regarding the disposal of Charles. He listened to the arguments on either side, but was too wily to make the same confession of his own views which he had succeeded in extracting from others. His object being attained, he broke off the conference with one of those coarse practical jests, by means of which, as on other occasions by his ready command of tears, he was accustomed at once to stifle the intensity of his own feelings and resolves, and to baffle and mislead those who might seek to fathom them. "He professed himself," says Ludlow, "unresolved; and having learned what he could of the principles and intentions of those present, he took up a cushion and flung it at my head, and then ran down the stairs. The next day, passing me in the house, he told me he was convinced of the desirableness of what was proposed, but not of the feasibleness of it." Even after the king had been sent for to Westminster to undergo a public trial, this farce of hesitation and perplexity was still kept up. A private conference took place at this time between Cromwell and the keepers of the great seal, Whitelocke and Widdrington, whom he had summoned to Whitehall to deliberate on some plan for the settlement of the nation. At these interviews with his lawyers, Cromwell was lying in one of the king's sumptuous beds; and in this posture

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he likewise gave audience to other persons, of the highest consideration.

Subsequently, in an interview with the commissioners sent from Scotland to protest against putting the king to death, though still pretending to be haunted with doubts, and assuming still the language of moderation, he spoke more explicitly; not surprised, however, into plainness by the complexure of the argument, but considering that now was the time for the great leader to declare himself:—"Cromwell entered into a long discourse on the nature of the regal power, according to the principles of Mariana and Buchanan; he thought a breach of trust in a king ought to be punished more than any other crime whatsoever. As to their covenant, they swore to the preservation of the king's person in defence of the true religion; if then it appeared that the settlement of the true religion was obstructed by the king, so that they could not come at it but by putting him out of the way, then their oath could not bind them to the preserving him any longer. Their covenant bound them to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cause to condign punishment: and was not this to be executed impartially? What were all those on whom public justice had been done, especially those who suffered for joining with Montrose, but small offenders, acting by commission from the king, who was therefore the principal, and so the most guilty?"

It appears to have been "the learned and witty" Marten, who, at the meetings which were held in this interval, first uttered in plain terms the advice, that "they should serve the king as the English did his

Scotch grandmother—cut off his head." It was adopted. The purification of the Commons had secured the certainty of concurrence on their part. On the 23rd of December, a committee of thirty-eight persons was appointed to prepare charges for the impeachment. In order to give their design some resemblance to the forms and principle of law, the house voted, "that by the fundamental law of the land it is treason for the king of England to levy war against the parliament and kingdom." To the surprise of the independents, when the vote was sent up to the Lords for their concurrence, that house, which had so long been sunk into the tamest subserviency, rejected it without a dissentient voice, though twice the usual number of members voted. Such a revival of courage was the more creditable, as this vote was carried, not only amidst the clamours of a furious and triumphant soldiery, but under a shower of petitions for the king's destruction, which the republicans had procured to be sent in from the common council of London, several other towns, and some counties in England. This, however, was the last effort of that expiring assembly. From four to six members met occasionally for a few weeks longer, when the Commons resolved that the House of Peers was useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished. In fact, its existence, as well as that of the crown, was incompatible with the next vote of the other house, "that the people are, under God, the origin of all just power," and with the declarations which they grounded upon it,—"that the House of Commons of England, being chosen by and representing the people, have the supreme authority," and thence,

"that whatsoever is enacted and declared for law by the Commons in parliament, hath the force of a law, and the people are concluded thereby, though the consent of the king and the peers be not had thereto." The same day an ordinance passed the Commons for constituting a high court of justice for the trial of the king. The number of commissioners named in it was a hundred and thirty-five, including all the great officers of the army, four peers, the speaker and the other principal members of the expurgated House of Commons. Only one great name among the king's enemies was absent, that of Vane, who disapproved of *this* mode of disposing of his person, and withdrew from London till after the execution. The twelve judges, ten of whom had received their appointments from the parliament, unanimously refused to be of the commission, declaring its whole purpose and constitution to be contrary to every principle of English law. Whitelocke and his colleague Widdrington, the most eminent lawyers of the time, also refused to sit on so unhallowed a tribunal.

While these events were in progress, Charles had been conducted, under the escort of Harrison and a body of horse, to Windsor. There he enjoyed the melancholy consolation of an interview with the Duke of Hamilton, now a state prisoner: there also, in that abode of illustrious kings, he was made to drink the bitterest cup of humiliation, which, as a king, could be offered to his lips, when an order from the council of war forbad all farther observance towards him of humble deference and regal state:—he was now only Charles Stuart, the *traitor to the sovereign people*. He felt this insult, less, probably,

for itself than for its ominous significance: the end of all was now clearly in view, and with heroic patience he prepared himself to meet it. He too, except in the immediate presence of his self-elected judges, was willing to forget that he was born to wield a monarch's sceptre, and threw himself for support upon the common stay of good men in adversity, practical religious faith.

Into the particulars of the king's trial we design not to enter: they are too numerous and great for the exhausted space marked out for this narrative; and such of them as have not come down, embalmed by tradition in the hearts and memories of the people, have been made familiar as household words by many recent popular publications. The unaffected, imperturbable demeanour of the king, except when he smiled contemptuously at that passage in the arraignment, in which he was charged as "*a tyrant, traitor, and murderer,*"—the fearless loyalty of that noble lady, who, on the first day of the trial, twice startled the regicidal court,—the insolent verbosity of "lord president" Bradshaw,—the rational, consistent, and patriotic refusal of Charles to acknowledge the jurisdiction of his illegal judges—the mockery of proof—the refusal of the king's entreaty, both previous to and after the delivery of the sentence, to be heard,—the tears of the people, and the punishment of the poor soldier, who, amidst enforced cries of "justice!" from his companions, uttered a blessing on his king, and was silenced by a blow;—these incidents the children round every English cottage hearth repeat, while their fathers indignantly spurn the falsehood, that either the trial, or the awful

act of blood which followed, was demanded by the people of England.

The English loyalists were, as a party, wholly incapable of arresting the tragical catastrophe. The great body of the people looked on and expected the terrible issue in mental prostration and bewilderment. The continental kingdoms were not merely indifferent to the fall of monarchy in England, but had long since been paying their court to the anomalous authority rising on its ruins. Only the united provinces of Holland sent over ambassadors to intercede for the life of their ally; but they were not allowed to see the king, nor could they obtain an audience of the parliament until the axe of the executioner had first done its office. Reasons too probable have been suggested, why even Charles's consort, Henrietta Maria, whose abhorred religion and impolitic advice had largely contributed to her husband's misfortunes, may have felt more coldly than became a wife, or even a good subject, at such a crisis. She wrote however to the parliament "a very passionate lamentation of the sad condition the king her husband was in, desiring that they would grant her a pass to come over to him; offering to use all the credit she had with him that he might give them satisfaction. However, if they would not give her leave to perform any of those offices towards the public, she prayed that she might be permitted to perform the duty she owed him, and to be near him in the uttermost extremity." This letter, delivered by the ambassador of France, was laid aside unread. Nor was Prince Charles unmindful of his filial duty. It is said that Colonel John Cromwell, a cousin of the lieutenant-

general, employed in the service of Holland, was commissioned by the prince to grant any conditions which his powerful kinsman might demand, if he would consent to preserve the king's life. He was encouraged to undertake this mission by the recollection of an assurance given to him some time before by Oliver, that he would rather draw his sword in favour of the king than allow the republicans to make any attempt upon his person. How little reliance was to be placed on such assurances, had been seen in one of the debates connected with the disposal of the king's person, as late as January 9th, when Cromwell is affirmed to have uttered the following extraordinary speech:—"Sir," said he, addressing the speaker, "if any man whatsoever have carried on this design of deposing the king, and disinheriting his posterity, or if any man have still such a design, he must be the greatest traitor and rebel in the world: but SINCE THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD HAS CAST THIS UPON US, I cannot but submit to Providence, though I am not yet prepared to give you my advice." The envoy, having with difficulty made his way to his great cousin's presence, delivered his message with so much zeal and earnestness, and urged so forcibly the advantage which would accrue to Cromwell himself, his family, and posterity, from compliance—at the same time showing his credentials, and a carte-blanche with which he had been supplied,—that Oliver is said to have hesitated; but finally he put him off with a message, that both himself and the council of officers *had been seeking God*, and it was resolved by them all that the king must die. Such a paper was certainly enclosed in a letter addressed

by the prince to Fairfax, intimating the price at which he desired to purchase his father's life from the grandees of the army. They might themselves fill up the blank paper with the conditions: be they what they might, they were already granted; the seal and signature of the prince were already affixed. It may be, that Fairfax's refusal to pass the terrific gulf, on the edge of which he now stood, was grounded as much on this offer as on any new-born moral firmness in his own nature. He seems to have induced those associates also, whom he had hitherto suffered to bear him on without resistance, to pause: it was, however, but for a moment; this letter also, when read, was laid aside. All the boon that Seymour, the messenger who brought it, could obtain, was permission, at the last moment, to deliver a second letter from the prince into the king's hands, and to receive his farewell instructions for his son.

It was on the 27th that sentence was pronounced upon the king. The same evening he sent a message to the commissioners, requesting that his children might be brought to him, and that he might also be attended by the bishop of London, Dr. Juxon. The next day, Sunday, he spent at St. James's, where he heard a sermon and received the holy sacrament from the bishop; and in conference with him, or in private devotion, passed that evening and the greater part of the following day. His nephew the Prince Elector, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hertford, and some others of the nobility, came to pay their last duty to their sovereign. "Excuse me," he said, "to them, and to any others that may express the same desire. My time is

short and precious; I hope they will not take it ill that none have access to me but my children. The best office they can do me now is to pray for me." Charles was now wholly subdued to his condition: he had sought the strength he needed, in the spirit of Christian submission and forgiveness; and he found it, in a degree fully proportionate to the greatness of his need. One pang alone remained,—the taking leave of his children, the Princess Elizabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester. The princess being just old enough to be sensible of her father's condition, wept excessively; the duke, too young fully to apprehend the cause, wept with her. Charles raised them from where they knelt, and, placing them on his knees, gave them such advice as was suitable to their years, and the solemnity of the occasion. He bade the lady Elizabeth tell her mother that his thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his love should be the same to the last; and begged her to remember to tell her brother James, whenever she should see him, that it was his father's last desire that he should no longer look on Prince Charles as his elder brother only, but should be obedient to him as his sovereign, and that they should both love one another, and forgive their father's enemies. "But," said the king, "sweet-heart, you will forget this?" "No," she replied, "I will never forget it whilst I live." He prayed her not to grieve for him, for he should die a glorious death; it being for the laws and liberties of the land, and for maintaining the true protestant religion. "Forgive those people, therefore," he said, "as I forgive them, but never trust them; for they have been false to me, and to those that gave them

power, and I fear also to their own souls." He then desired her to read Bishop Andrewes's Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, and Archbishop Laud's book against Fisher, which would confirm her in a pious attachment to the church of England, and secure her against popery. Then addressing the little Gloucester, he said, "Sweetheart, now they will cut off thy father's head." Upon which words the child looking very stedfastly at him, "Mark, child," he continued, "what I say; they will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a king: but mark what I say—you must not be a king so long as your brothers, Charles and James, live; for they will cut off your brothers' heads when they can catch them, and cut off thy head, too, at last; and therefore I charge you do not be made a king by them;" at which the child said earnestly, "I will be torn in pieces first!" This ready reply from one so young filled the king's eyes with tears of joy. In conclusion, he commanded them both to be obedient to their mother; prayed God Almighty to bless them, and desired the princess to convey his blessing to the rest of her brothers and sisters, with commendations to all his friends; and dividing a few jewels among them, he kissed and again blessed them, and hastily, with an overflowing heart retired to his devotions.

The commissioners likewise strictly employed Sunday in *their* devotions: they fasted, and prayed for a blessing on the commonwealth; while Hugh Peters regaled the ears of the republicans with a sermon, on Psalm cxlix. 6—8, &c.: "Let the high praises of God be in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hands, to execute vengeance on the heathen, and punishments

upon the people; to bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron; to execute upon them the judgment written. Such honour have all his saints. Praise the Lord." The business of Monday was the drawing up and engrossing of the warrant for the king's execution "upon the morrow." Of the hundred and thirty-five commissioners, seventy-one was the largest number ever present at the trial. Forty-eight only appeared on the day when the king's execution was pronounced: fifty-nine have made their names "for ever memorable" by signing the warrant for his decapitation. We will not undertake, within the narrow space which circumstances have fixed for the conclusion of this narrative, to describe "the last scene of all" in the history of the most unfortunate Prince of a race marked for misfortune; preferring, lest the current of the present writer's sympathies should have unwittingly run more often than he designed in favour of the royal victim, to close it in the words of authors more disposed, though in different degrees, to admire the gifted hero of the vast but fruitless revolution completed on the scaffold at Whitehall.

"The mournful and tragic scene," writes Mr. Forster, "that was enacted on the 30th of January, 1649, in the open street fronting Whitehall, is familiar to every reader of history. Through the whole of that scene Charles bore himself with a dignified composure, and was to the last undisturbed, self-possessed and serene. He addressed the crowd from the scaffold, forgave all his enemies, protested that the war was not begun by him, declared that the people's right was only to have their life and goods

their own, 'a share in the government being nothing pertaining to them,' and concluded with words which, perhaps, expressed a sincere delusion, that he 'died the martyr of the people.' When his head fell, severed by the executioner at one blow, 'a dismal groan issued from the crowd:'

'He nothing common did, or mean,
Upon that memorable scene;
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try:
Nor called the gods, with vulgar spite,
To vindicate his helpless right;
But bowed his comely head
Down as upon a bed.'

—So, in a few years after, wrote a most generous adversary, Andrew Marvel, and in an ode to Oliver Cromwell himself. The lapse of two centuries has confirmed the poet's praise."

Concerning Cromwell's share in the transactions of this extraordinary crisis, Mr. Noble, his admirer, but not his blind apologist, thus records his testimony: "His hypocrisy to the public, and jocularity throughout the dreadful tragedy of the king's trial and execution (though great part of it was forced, and only a cover to hide the perturbation of his mind within), gave greater pain than the action itself. There might be the primary principle of nature, self-defence, to plead in his justification, at least extenuation, in putting the king to death, but none to indulge a vein of mirth and pleasantry in the misfortunes of any one, particularly a person of so high a degree, and who stood in so sacred a relation to him as his sovereign; yet,

during the last scenes of the king's life, he talked jestingly, and acted buffoonery; and this, too, when he was professing himself only guided by Providence, and lamenting the condition of his sovereign, whose lamentable fate he was fixing. It is certain that he went to feast his eyes upon the murdered king, and some say, put his finger to the neck, to feel whether it were entirely severed; and viewing the inside of the body, observed how sound it was, and how well made for longevity. Bowtell, a private soldier, said, 'that Cromwell could not open the coffin with his staff, but taking the other's sword, effected it with the hilt of it;' while he was inspecting the body, Bowtell asking him what government they should have now, he said, 'the same that then was.' There was no excuse for this; yet did he before, during the trial and execution, mock his Maker by hypocritical prayers; and at those times and after, would shed tears for his master's unhappy situation and death."

The author of a modern life of Cromwell, after citing the above passage from his predecessor, adds these just and temperate remarks: "The death of the king alienated for ever from Cromwell all the more moderate of the English people, who had continued to believe that a treaty with his majesty was not altogether impracticable. No one was any longer permitted to doubt that personal motives weighed more with the ambitious soldier than the love of country; and that, in hastening the execution of his sovereign, he had yielded to the impulse of a selfish apprehension, rather than to the desire which he professed to entertain of vindicating the injured rights of his fellow-subjects. At the same time he brought dishonour

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upon the cause for which he had appeared in the field with so much advantage. He threw a stain upon the patriotism of others, who sincerely laboured to renew the constitution, and thereby to place on a firmer basis the privileges of the people and the just authority of the sovereign: and, by disgusting the nation with a tyranny more intolerable than any that had ever been inflicted by a legitimate prince, he paved the way for the restoration of the monarchy, in the same undefined and arbitrary form in which it originally descended to the House of Stuart."

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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